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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1847

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PROPER, TIMELY MAINTENANCE, REPAIRS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT URGED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 pp 2-4

[Article by Engr-Maj Gen Dobri Dobrev: "Constant Combat Readiness of Weapons and Equipment the Fundamental Mission"]

[Text] With the modern resources of technical equipment and the highly refined models of weapons and combat materiel, mastering them to perfection and keeping them in technical working order and readiness for action, as well as combat skill and tactical and technical qualifications of personnel are becoming the basic criteria of the combat readiness of troops.

This makes it the obligation of servicemen during the new training year--which will be a year of duty worthily fulfilled in honor of the 12th BCP Congress--to conduct a campaign and to stimulate socialist competition for a further rise in the combat readiness of units and formations, placing in the forefront questions of the all-round mastery of combat materiel and armament. This means that they must exploit its tactical and technical capabilities skillfully and to the utmost, must operate with it without breakdown and keep its combat and technical performance at the prescribed level for specified time periods.

Mastery of equipment includes a whole package of tasks in the performance of which two main thrusts can be singled out.

The first is to be sure to study it and on this basis to improve the skills of handling it and making full use of it tactically and technically.

The second thrust takes the form not only of assuring the trouble-free operation of vehicles and armament, but also, on the basis thereof, of maintaining their principal technical indicators during specified time periods.

The foremost role in organizing and seeing to the full use, proper care, and maintenance in technical working order and combat readiness of armament and equipment is that of commissioned officers, and first and foremost of the commander. Only the commander who has a good knowledge of equipment and, what is more, not just of its capabilities and the regulations

governing its use unier various conditions, but also the special aspects of its use, servicing and repair, is capable of performing such duties successfully.

The engineering aspects of the officer's job are determined by the actual situation. Units and elements are now saturated with new equipment and in a number of cases the functions of commander and engineer cannot be demarcated. This explains the increased requirements set for the technical training of line officers. Graduates of officers' training schools gain a competence as engineer in the use of their own particular type of equipment. This obligates these categories of officers to make wide use of their engineering knowledge in the campaign for proper use and maintenance of armament and equipment and to work constantly on their own technical training. Otherwise they will rapidly fritter away the knowledge gained in school and will fail to keep up with the development of military equipment and armament.

The modern supply base makes high demands on the military technical training of officer personnel and especially on military engineers--the commanders' closest assistants. Deputy commanders for technical service and engineer officers of all grades, in accordance both with their functional duties and with their profession, directly decide questions of technical support and the organization of the operation, maintenance, storage and repair of equipment.

The role of military engineers is great and important. On their professional competence, organizational capabilities and sense of principle depend the condition of materiel and the level of technical training of personnel--hence, also, the combat readiness of units and elements.

It must be emphasized once more that commanders and engineers need thorough and comprehensive technical training because successful performance of the great and complex missions confronting the armed forces, including the skillful organization of the use of equipment and armament at the level of modern requirements, depends on their qualifications.

The trouble-free operation of every vehicle and every technical system is guaranteed only provided there is the strictest observance of operating conditions. A whole system of preventive maintenance, beginning with the performance of daily servicing, is aimed at maintaining the reliability and preserving the prescribed engineering characteristics of materiel. And wherever these activities are carried on regularly and are defined in terms of time and substance in the relevant handbooks and instructions, equipment and armament are constantly in a state of complete readiness for combat employment. With skillful and proper use of equipment, its service life is significantly increased.

But there are cases where parts of a vehicle or weapon wear out prematurely; breakdowns occur in individual assemblies, systems and units.

necessitating repair before the specified times. Usually such cases are caused by gross violation of the regulations governing the operation of vehicles, the use of unsuitable fuel and lubricants, untimely or substandard servicing or improper care. Most frequently the reasons for such an attitude towards equipment are not negligence on the part of the persons in charge of it, but the fact that they are not fully aware of how important it is to comply precisely with all the recommendations and prescribed technical operating conditions. Usually these recommendations are formulated on the basis of a thorough analysis of comprehensive tests so as to assure the most suitable operating conditions of the vehicle.

Noncompliance with technical operating conditions inevitably results in a violation of optimum operating conditions. That is why the established times for inspection, technical servicing, replacement of assemblies and parts, special fluids, fuel and lubricants must be observed regardless of the conditions under which operations are carried on.

No commander will tolerate vehicles being put in the pool after an exercise without their being filled up with fuel and oil. But sometimes it is thought that checking on their condition, remedying small malfunctions and performing the necessary servicing can be postponed till another time. This is not to be tolerated. A completely filled-up and equipped vehicle is not combat-ready unless the prescribed periodic servicing has been performed on it. It must be emphasized that the purpose of this servicing is not only to detect and remedy malfunctions (it may have none), but to make sure that the parameters of units and systems are within the range of tolerances established for them.

Experience has shown that with skillful planning, organization and supervision of servicing, completion time can be significantly shorted with a simultaneous improvement in the standard of work.

An indispensable condition for the realism of plans is the information about the condition of vehicles, servicing facilities and maintenance equipment should be reliable and as detailed as possible. Repairmen can be assigned specific tasks only when for every vehicle to be serviced there is a defect tally sheet showing in detail the jobs for which the respective specialists will be used by the repair shop. Such information must be collected in advance. It is very important to think out how to provide, in quantity and on time, the necessary spare parts, equipment, tools, expendable supplies, fuels and lubricants and special materials for the jobs.

The efficiency and reliability of modern armament systems and combat vehicles depend a great deal on the accuracy of testing instruments and apparatuses. It is important, therefore, to observe the established times for periodic inspections and adjustments of these instruments and to perform them fully. Here it may be recalled that all engineering and technical personnel must know the principles of metrology. Commanders must give this sufficient attention.

Among the preventive-maintenance activities for keeping military equipment in a ready state for combat employment, equipment-care days have a significant place. In planning them, a correct estimate must be made of the technical condition of combat vehicles and armament; the times and scope of the impending routine and tally-sheet technical maintenance must be determined; the results of days held previously and of equipment inspections by officials must be taken into account; and what jobs are to be performed by the specialists of the repair elements must be determined. The scope and sequence of jobs directly involving the care of equipment must be correctly determined. Only then, on the basis of comprehensive analysis, are personnel and resources allotted. Demonstration equipment-care days have an important place here, being of particular benefit before the start of the relevant training period.

Good preparation for an equipment-care day means the timely drawing up of operation charts for the maintenance of equipment and armament; formulating the assignments for the elements, teams and crew; organizing workplaces rationally; furnishing mechanization facilities and testing and diagnostic instruments; providing a model demonstration of technological operations, and not just complex operations either, but also those which are often unjustifiably considered of secondary importance; solving all questions of accident and fire prevention.

Good preparation of demonstration equipment-care days requires taking many pains. But they are worthwhile if they are held more than once and in exemplary fashion and in the other subunits. It is not easy to achieve this. What is needed here is constant stringency on the part of commanders and persistent and steady work by engineering and technical personnel.

Military specialists can and must make suggestions about improvement in the design of existing models of weapons and war materiel. This task must be one of the main thrusts in the work of army innovators.

Supervisors, engineers, technicians and personnel of repair facilities are charged with an exceptionally great responsibility. The service life of equipment and the combat readiness of units and elements depend, to a great extent, on how well the repair of equipment is carried on.

Experience conclusively shows that one of the powerful mechanisms for raising production efficiency is the scientific organization of labor and the rationalization of production. Elements thereof must be introduced systematically and sequentially, beginning with the simplest.

Next year our country will mark the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state and the 12th BCP Congress will be held. The communist party and the people are doing everything possible to greet this congress and jubilee with new labor triumphs and are conducting a campaign to fulfill and overfulfill the Seventh Five-Year Plan and the resolutions on high quality and efficiency.

Our party's instructions apply with full force as well to the activity of the service personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army. They are persistently and constantly raising the quality of combat and political training; they are endeavoring to make efficient use of every minute of training time, to make skillful use of military equipment and armament, to make sure that equipment and armament have the maximum service life, and to implement a strict economy regime in motor capacity and the expenditure of resources. One of the main requirements for the successful fulfillment of these tasks is the proper organization of the technical maintenance, use, care and repair of armament and equipment.

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CHEMICAL CHANGES OF MILITARY SUPPLIES, AMMUNITION EXAMINED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 pp 7-8

[Article by Engr-Col Pesho Peshev: "Changes in the Technical Condition of Ammunition"]

[Text] The storage life of ammunition and its technical serviceability and operational safety depend on proper storage. In the event of a breach of such conditions, serious defects may arise. Some of these are easily detected during preparation for firing or during technical servicing. But there are also defects which are difficult to detect or, if we make a qualitative determination, laboratory tests are necessary for a quantitative evaluation.

Changes in the bursting charges of high explosive are comparatively easy to detect. Most often in that case so-called swelling or leakage of the explosive appears. Ammunition with swollen explosive is set aside for repair, while ammunition with leaking explosive is dangerous for firing and is set aside as unserviceable.

The physicochemical changes that occur in the gunpowder of payloads are considerably more difficult to detect.

The capacity of gunpowders to resist slow and spontaneous decomposition and preserve their basic characteristics unchanged in use under various conditions is called chemical stability.

It is known that components with insufficient thermodynamic stability and with spontaneous decomposability represent a significant proportion (85-95 percent) of the composition of smokeless gunpowders. These are cellulose nitrates, di- and trivalent alcohol nitrates etc. All of these have the so-called ester bond. If we take an alcohol and act upon it with nitric acid, the corresponding nitrate with an ester bond will be obtained:

$$ROH+HNO_3 \rightleftarrows RONO_2+H_2O,$$

where R=C_2H_4, C_3H_5 are respectively the ethylene glycol and glycerol radicals.

The bond between the R radical and the nitro group NO_2 is an ester bond. Most characteristic of it is the fact that it is highly labile, i.e., chemically unstable. This is due to the comparatively small energy of the bond between O-N, which predetermines its rapid explosion in the event of a rise in temperature or in the presence of chemical reagents, which conditions can be created in the event of improper storage of ammunition.

The chemical breakdown of gunpowders is explained by the processes of thermal and hydrolytic decomposition. In addition, the later stage of gunpowder decomposition involves the occurrence of destructive processes in the structure of cellulose nitrates.

The thermal decomposition of gunpowders takes place in accordance with the chain-radical mechanism. Acted upon by heat, primary free radicals form in accordance with the reaction

$$RO+NO_2 \rightarrow RO^{\cdot}+NO_2.$$

The nitrogen dioxide NO_2 that is obtained by this reaction has strongly oxidative properties and can form new radicals

$$RH+NO_2 \rightarrow R^{\cdot}+NO$$

$$2NO+2H_2 \rightarrow 2H_2O+N_2.$$

Moreover, nitrogen dioxide can interact with the oxidized radicals and form peroxides

$$RO^{\cdot}+NO_2 \rightarrow ROO^{\cdot}+NO.$$

The peroxide radical in turn is capable of activating the hydrogen of other groups with the formation of a hydroperoxide compound and a new radical:

$$ROO^{\cdot}+RH \rightarrow ROOH+R^{\cdot}.$$

The hydroperoxide is a very labile compound and disintegrates with the formation of a new radical:

$$ROOH \rightarrow RO^{x}+HO^{x}$$

$$\text{or } ROOH+RH \rightarrow RO^{x}+H_2O+R^{x}.$$

These chain-radical transformations are a combination of only primary processes of the thermal decomposition of gunpowders. The resultant free radicals and oxides of nitrogen are capable of inducing secondary processes of the chemical transformation of smokeless gunpowder which accelerate further decomposition. Unless measures are taken to render harmless the primary thermal-decomposition products (introduction of stabilisers), the rate of gunpowder decomposition will progressively increase.

The hydrolytic decomposition of gunpowder results whenever moisture gets into it. This likewise turns on the proper storage of ammunition.

The basis of the hydrolytic decomposition of smokeless gunpowder is hydrolysis of the organic compound, i.e., breaking of the interatomic bonds in the organic molecule under the action of water with the formation of two or more compounds. The usual case of the hydrolysis of an alcohol nitrate is the denitration reaction:

$$RONO_2+H_2O \rightarrow ROH+HNO_3(HNO_2).$$

As can be seen, in both cases (thermal decomposition and hydrolytic dissociation) the final product is nitric or nitrous acid.

The gunpowder decomposition process can be divided conventionally into two periods: an induction period and a period of autocatalytic acceleration of the decomposition process.

The second period is characterised by a sharp increase (two- or threefold) in the rate of chemical decomposition.

A very important factor in these decomposition processes is the fact that the reactions are highly exothermic. Therefore, at high rates of decomposition when the heat input from the chemical reaction in the gunpowder exceeds the heat consumption (heat exchange), the charges can ignite without any other cause. Obviously, payloads of such gunpowders are not only unserviceable for firing, but also present great danger in storage.

Modern chemistry has sure means of detecting the earliest processes of chemical decomposition. There are very exact methods of determining the physicochemical stability of gunpowders. But for this, samples must be sent periodically to the appropriate chemical laboratory.

The later stages of gunpowder decomposition are also detectible by external signs, something which must be borne in mind during the technical servicing of ammunition. Over the surface of elements of such gunpowders dark yellow stains, swellings and cracks appear. These gunpowders have lowered mechanical strength, are brittle and lack the necessary elasticity.

If the gunpowder has been put in a cartridge case as payload, the signs of decomposition are the appearance of green spots (copper oxide) and darkening of the pouches.

In order to retard the decomposition process, small quantities of substances called stabilisers of chemical stability are put into the composition of the gunpowder. They readily bond with the gunpowder decomposition products (free radicals and oxides of nitrogen) and form chemically inactive compounds. In this manner the formation of nitric acid is retarded. Diphenylamine, centralite No. 1 and No. 2 and metallic oxides (MgO) are used as stabilisers. Clearly, unstable gunpowders will also have unstable ballistics; fire will be inaccurate, not to mention the hazards which are latent in such ammunition.

All these processes were envisaged back during the creation of the gunpowders and especially during the drafting of storage regulations. Complying with the appropriate manuals and instructions will guarantee operational safety and technical serviceability only provided that they are known and complied with uncompromisingly.

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BREAKDOWNS OF TRANSISTOR SWITCH IN SOVIET-MADE VEHICLES EXAMINED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 pp 10-13

[Article by Engr-Maj Kotso Georgiev: "Repair of TK-102 Transistor Switch Under Military Conditions"]

[Text] A large proportion of Soviet motor vehicles and buses year after year successfully use a contact-transistor ignition system with transistor switch TK-102. The high secondary-voltage safety factor ($F_g > 1.5$), the stability in maintaining the established ignition advance due to the negligible wear on the contacts of the circuit breaker, and the increased time and energy of the inductive discharge all increase the engine's fuel economy. Research conducted in the USSR has found that if the carburetor is adjusted to operate with leaner fuel mixtures and with a gap between spark-plug electrodes of 1-1.2 mm, the fuel saving amounts to 4-5 percent and the relative toxicity of exhaust gases decreases an average of 20-25 percent, which is of considerable importance from an ecological point of view. At the same time, the maximum value of the current switched by the contacts of the circuit breaker does not exceed 0.7-0.9 A, owing to which their operating life is as much as 250,000 km.

The system includes the following elements (Figure 1): transistor switch TK-102, induction coil B114, additional resistances unit SR-107, interrupter-distributor R4-D, ignition key KZ (VK350), spark plugs ZS (A15-BS or A15-SS), and low- and high-voltage conductors.

The system exhibits high reliability under all operating conditions and in all operating modes. Nevertheless, breakdowns do occur in its operation, albeit comparatively rarely. Most often they are due to trouble that develops in the transistor switch, interrupter-distributor, additional-resistances unit and spark plugs. Trouble due to the induction coil is almost never encountered in practice or is of a purely mechanical character. Trouble in the basic elements of the system, with the exception of that in the switch, is comparatively easy to find and quickly remedied.

When a failure occurs in the operation of the system as a result of a breakdown in the switch, the switch must be replaced with a new one in order to

restore the system to operating capacity. The producer plant does not recommend that any repair or reconditioning work whatsoever be done on the switch and says that it is unrepairable. But scrapping switches that have got out of order proves uneconomical and inadvisable under operating conditions. This started the specialists thinking and seeking possibilities of reconditioning, if not all, at least most of the unserviceable switches. For the present this problem is partially solved in some motor transport enterprises in the USSR. Scattered experiments have been made in our country, including experiments in the Bulgarian People's Army. This makes it imperative to analyse the experience so far and indicate the results of research on the possibilities of reconditioning transistor switch TK-102.

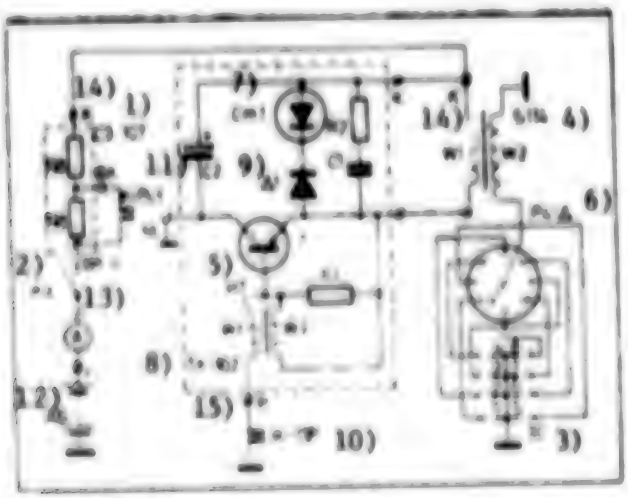

Figure 1. Contact-transistor ignition system with transistor switch TK-102

Key:

1. Additional-resistances unit
2. Ignition switch
3. Spark plug
4. Coil 114
5. Pulse transformer
6. Interrupter-distributor RA-D
7. Stabilitron St_1 and St_2
8. Transistor switch TK-102
9. Diode D
10. K-PR [expansion unknown; possibly switch-circuit breaker]
11. K-RST [expansion unknown]
12. AB [expansion unknown]
13. VK [expansion unknown]
14. Terminal
15. Bulgarian R or Latin P [expansion unknown]

It is a basic element of the ignition system. Housed in the body of the switch 1 (Figure 2) are the following: safety unit 2, pulse transformer 3, electrolytic capacitor 4 (K50-3B) and transistor 5 (GT701A). The safety unit consolidates into a single whole the stabilitron $Ст_1$ (D817A) (Figure 1), diode $Д_1$ (D226 or D237B), capacitor C_1 (МБМ-160-1.0±10%), resistances R_1 (ULI-0.25-20±2%) and R_2 (ULI-0.25-22±2%). Lately resistance R_2 has not been inserted at all, and resistance R_1 has a value of 27 Ω rather than 20. Elements of the unit are covered with an epoxy resin. The cover of the switch is attached to the body by three rivets. The transistor is inserted in a special recess of the body and is likewise covered with an epoxy resin.

Analysis of the failures of the switch shows that they are most frequently due to malfunction of the transistor (about 50 percent of all failures) and of the stabilitron (20-25 percent) because of their internal defects. Only 1-2 percent of all failures are attributable to other elements of the switch. The rest (23-29 percent) are due to violations of production technology and of the rules for the use of the ignition system.

The basic criterion of switch failure in a vehicle is the cessation of sparking between the electrodes of the spark plugs. But since this can also happen through the fault of some other elements of the system, a conclusion regarding the breakdown of the switch can be drawn only after checking its working capacity.

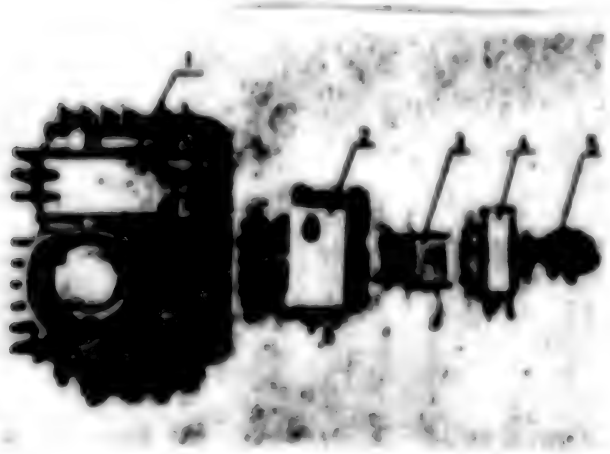

Figure 2. Basic elements of transistor switch TK-102

Key:

Б) - b)

В) - c)

Figure 3. Versions of safety unit of switch TK-102

Key:

Б) - b)

В) - в)

Checking a vehicle directly is comparatively simple and requires no complex equipment or instrumentation. It can be performed in a few minutes even by the vehicle driver using only a test lamp in the following sequence:

--with the ignition key KZ turned on, the induction coil is disconnected from the switch, and the low-voltage conductor from the interrupter-distributor;

--the ignition key KZ is turned on and a check is made with a test lamp for the presence of voltage on terminal K of the switch and the contact of its body with the chassis of the vehicle, the lamp being connected between terminals K and M of the switch;

--the test lamp is connected at the site of the induction coil (between the nameless terminal and terminal K of the switch);

--periodically the conductor, disconnected from the interrupter-distributor, is brought into contact with the body of the switch. If the switch is in working order, on every contact with the conductor the lamp lights up brightly and on its removal goes out. If in the process the test lamp lights up continuously or does not light up at all, the switch is not in working order.

The defective switch is removed from the vehicle and sent to the workshop where specialists in the repair of electrical equipment, using the necessary instruments, determine precisely the elements of the switch that are out of order and, where necessary, repair them.

It is advisable that the check of the switch by the specialists be made in the following sequence:

--the heads of the rivets are filed off and the switch cover is removed;

--the following are unsoldered and removed from the circuit: the emitter and base of the transistor, the positive terminal of capacitor C_2 and the common terminal of the windings of the pulse transformer PT;

--the transistor is checked with the help of a combined instrument or ohmmeter, the resistance of the p-n junctions being measured in a forward and reverse direction. If the positive terminal of the ohmmeter is connected to the base of the transistor, the junctions remain obstructed and the resistance between the base and the emitter and the collector will be great (tens or hundreds of kilohms). Conversely, if the negative terminal of the ohmmeter is connected to the base, the junctions will be opened and the resistance will be small (tens of ohms). When the resistance between the junctions equals zero or infinity, the transistor is not in working order;

--the serviceability of the pulse transformer PT is checked by measuring the resistance of its windings. For the primary winding it must be 0.14 Ω, and for the secondary winding 7 Ω ;

--the electrolytic capacitor C_2 is checked with the help of the ohmmeter (turned on to maximum X10 or X100). If the capacitor is in working order, the indicator of the instrument is deflected for a moment and then returns to the initial position;

--the resistance between terminals "a" and "b" of the safety unit is measured (Figure 2). It must equal 20 or 27 Ω (value of R_1);

--the resistance between terminal K and the nameless terminal of the switch is measured in a forward and reverse direction. If diode D_1 and stabilitron St_1 are in working order, it must be large (tens or hundreds of kilohms). A conclusion as to the condition of capacitor C_1 is drawn from the deflection of the indicator of the instrument. If there is a breakdown of the diode or stabilitron, the resistance will be small (tens of ohms) in one of the directions. If there is a breakdown simultaneously in both elements, the resistance will equal zero in both directions. The fact that there is a break in the diode or stabilitron is detected by measuring the stabilization voltage of the stabilitron, which must equal 73.8÷90.2 V with a stabilization current of 0.05÷0.6 A. In so doing, a direct-current

source with voltage of 100 V is used, the positive terminal of which current is connected to the nameless terminal, while the negative is connected to terminal K of the switch. The voltage is evenly increased from 60 to 100 V and the moment of the triggering of the stabilitron is determined (the current increases sharply while the voltage remains constant). If there is no opportunity of making such a check, a cross channel is carefully filed with a flat file at a distance of 30 mm from terminal "c" along the axis of the stabilitron until access is gained to the diode and stabilitron terminals hidden in the resin and these are checked with the ohmmeter. Therewith a full check of the switch is completed. Defective switches can be reconditioned in two ways--with or without changes in the type of switch. Some switches are reconditioned in the latter way in the USSR.

If in one switch the transistor is defective and in another the safety unit (both are very rarely encountered simultaneously), one switch is made up out of the two. From the first switch all elements and terminals (minus the transistor) are taken; the recess with the transistor is heated with a blow torch until the resin softens up and the transistor is taken out too. If conditions permit, the heating can be done in a furnace or over a hotplate to a temperature of 553÷573° K (280÷300° C), during which the resin takes on a dark brown color. The transistor is replaced with a serviceable one (if there is no GT701A, a P217V can be used). After replacement, the transistor recess can be refilled with epoxy resin. The other elements are also assembled.

When the diode or stabilitron in the safety unit is defective, a hole 11 mm in diameter can be bored in the unit along the axis of the stabilitron, into which hole the new diode and stabilitron are inserted, connected up according to the diagram, and resin poured into the hole. It is necessary to work carefully for in boring the hole the entire unit can be ruined.

A defective pulse transformer is rewound by hand. Its primary winding W_1 contains 50 turns with wire 0.6 mm in diameter, while the secondary winding W_2 contains 150 turns with wire 0.3 mm in diameter.

A defective capacitor C_2 can be replaced with another electrolytic capacitor with a capacity of 50 μF and operating voltage of 50 V.

The research and experiments that have been conducted in reconditioning defective TK-102 switches for the needs of the Bulgarian People's Army show that when the safety unit is defective, it is advisable to make a new one on a special Getinaks plate. Serviceable elements can be recovered from the defective unit and reused. Figure 3 shows three different versions of safety units. Units 3a and 3b use new stabilitron radiators, in which the cooling surface is increased. This facilitates the operation of the stabilitron. Such safety units can be made ahead of time in a certain quantity and used whenever needed. In this way the possibility opens up for the

rapid and timely reconditioning of the switch under field conditions, which is of considerable importance.

The cover can be reattached to the body of the switch with rivets or with M$_4$ screws by threading the hole where the rivets were with an M$_4$ tap.

The problem of reconditioning the TK-102 transistor switch can be successfully solved under conditions in the Bulgarian People's Army. What is needed for this is the joint efforts of deputy commanders for technical affairs, electronic engineers and specialists in the repair of electrical equipment and the automation of ABTT [expansion unknown].

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CSO: 2200

SAFETY MEASURES IN WORKING WITH COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT

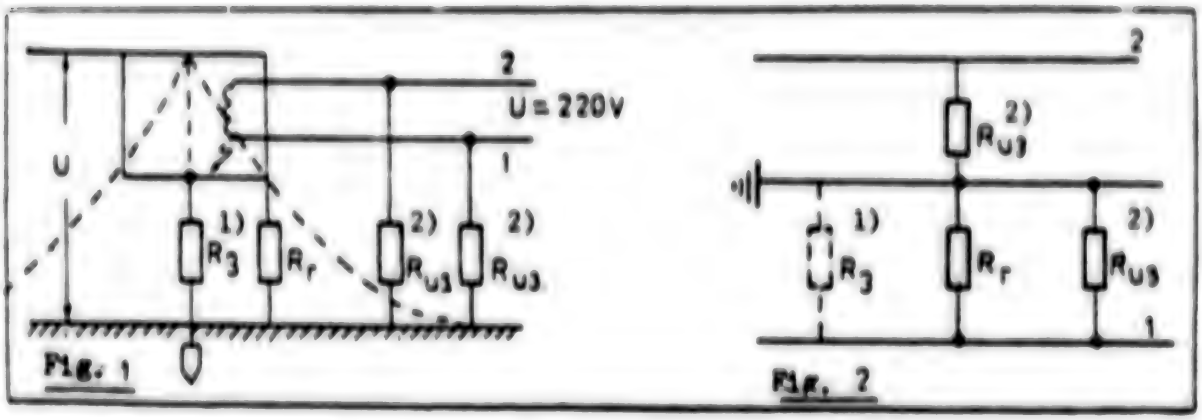
Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 pp 13-15

[Article by Engr-Col Khristo Videkov: title as above]

[Text] A great deal of equipment is in service in the Bulgarian People's Army that is in use the year round under stationary and under field conditions. In order for it to serve its purpose and in order to protect the lives of the attendant personnel, the safety measures stated in the operating instructions for it must be observed. Violations of the requirements of these measures can result in two very important consequences--temporary or permanent breakdown of expensive equipment and sometimes even serious bodily injuries or fatalities. Thus, for example, during the improper transporting of a radio station the erected rod antenna came into contact with high-tension wires for electric locomotives, as a result of which the driver was a casualty. A man almost died from an elevated concentration of carbon dioxide, and only a month ago there was an accident resulting from contact with an exposed grid-lead wire.

The measures assuring safe operation during the use of communications equipment are specific for every type of apparatus. They can be grouped according to their nature into two basic groups: organizational and technical.

In the former we can include those which are determined and conducted by commanders so as to implement the safety measures incorporated early on during the design and production of the communications equipment. These include the following: the selection of signalmen by specialties on the basis of qualifications, with service men who have graduated from electrical or radio engineering schools or who have advanced technical training usually being recruited as chiefs of stations and equipment powered by alternating voltage of over 150 V; organization of thorough study of general safety measures and specific measures for individual equipments and ways of rendering first aid; administration of a test for clearance to use communications equipment; systematic checking and instruction on the part of immediate commanders and chiefs; organization of high-standard performance of periodic servicing where the operational charts require inspection of grounding, concentration of gases etc.



Key to Fig. 1 and Fig. 2:

1. R_g [g = ground]
2. R_{in} [in = insulation]

Analysis of accidents and equipment damage shows that the basic cause is violation of organizational safety measures: too little checking, substandard compliance with grounding instructions, failure to ventilate the compartment, violation of instructions during the repair of affected elements, insertion of substandard fuses.

Design and technical safety measures include those which were devised and implemented in the design of equipments and are reflected in the pertinent instructions. Among these we can include the following: measures aimed at protecting personnel against the effect of electric current and electromagnetic irradiation; measures assuring a safe concentration of the noxious gases from heaters, motors, storage batteries etc.; safety measures precluding the outbreak of fire; safety measures aimed at preventing fractures and traumas, damage to units, equipments etc.

Let us consider in greater detail the measures for protection against electric current, endeavoring to clarify two questions. The first is: What effect does electric current have on the human organism and what value of current is life-endangering? The second is concerned with measures taken to reduce the magnitude of current in the event of a breakdown during normal use.

Science has proved that the effect of electric current is manifested in two ways: local effect, by virtue of injury to the tissue; and reflex (motor)

effect, manifested through the nervous system. The reaction in the event of the latter effect can sometimes be of decisive significance since if one gets thrown about, one may touch current-bearing parts and complete an electric circuit through especially vulnerable parts of the body (heart, occiput, brain etc.). Although there are differing opinions about the magnitude of a lethal current (since it also depends on the affected parts, psychophysiological condition etc.), research shows that a current with a force of 80-100 mA is unquestionably lethal, a current with a force of 50-80 mA is life-endangering with serious injuries, and a current with a force of 15-30 mA can cause paralysis of the muscles and an inability on the part of the person to release himself from the electric circuit. Hence, that current is "safe," present which a person can release himself from the circuit. According to Ohm's law, current is defined by the formula $I = \frac{U}{R_T}$. But the resistance of a human being R_T is a complex quantity (there is an active component of skin and body and a capacitative component) and varies in a very wide range from 100 to 200 kΩ if the skin is coarse down to 1 to 2 kΩ if the skin is moist. Hence, everybody can be sure that even the 120-V voltage of a telegraph set can be dangerous. High-frequency currents are less dangerous since they act more weakly on the nervous system, but they can cause severe burns.

To avoid accidents in the event of motor reactions and different measurements, it is recommended that the distance between uninsulated parts that are under tension and the walls should be at least 1 m, and the distance between them and grounded parts should be at least 0.5 m. This must be borne in mind by commanders and performing personnel in setting up new communications facilities or in altering existing facilities. Reliable grounding is a sure measure against the effect of electric current. This is done with all mobile and stationary equipments powered with voltage higher than 115 V and has as its purpose to assure both personnel safety and reliable communications through using the ground as a second conductor --especially in type printing.

Let us clarify the role of the ground by the following example. A conductor with insulation resistance $R_{in} = 21$ kΩ comes in contact with the case of a radio set (Figure 1) which is not grounded. A person with resistance R_T touches the case. Then according to the equivalent circuit in Figure 2, applying the Kirchhoff equations, we find that through the person there will flow the current $I_{hum} = \frac{U}{2R_T + R_{in}} = \frac{220}{20 \cdot 10^3 + 21 \cdot 10^3} = 50$ mA. If the set is grounded with a ground which has resistance $R_g = 10\Omega$, the current will be: $I'_{hum} = \frac{U \cdot R_g}{R_T \cdot R_{in}} = 10$ mA. From the formula it can be seen that the smaller the ground resistance, the greater is the crew safety. Therefore ground resistance is assumed to range from 5 to 20 Ω, the resistance for the different voltages or for several grounds being taken from the manuals. The resistance of a single pipe ground is determined according to the

formula $R_g = \frac{0.366}{l} \rho \cdot \lg\frac{4l}{d}$ (Ω), where l is the length, in centimeters, of the part driven into the ground, d is the diameter of the pipe (cm), and ρ is the specific resistance of the earth ($\Omega \cdot$cm).

The single ground distributes the potential in the soil around the radio station according to hyperbolic law (shown in Figure 1 by the broken line). In order to reduce this potential of the case, the ground is made at least one step to the side of the station (0.841 m), when the designation "step voltage" is obtained. At a distance of 20-30 m from the ground, it is almost zero. Therefore, grounding is sometimes done with a conductor up to 20 m long. The gage of the conductor is determined according to the load capacity, the type of insulation, the material of the core etc., and is taken from the manuals. For a copper conductor with rubber (polyvinyl chloride) insulation and 4 sq mm gage, the capacity is 41 A, and for 10 sq mm gage 80 A. The bolts for the ground must be at least 10 mm in diameter.

To improve the quality of the ground, use is often made of so-called circular grounding with several grounds, and the soil is treated by pouring on it water or a sodium chloride solution, whereby ground resistance is reduced two- to 15-fold.

Ground resistance is checked the first time the radio station is switched on and thereafter every year in accordance with BDS [Bulgarian State Standard] 309-60. It can be measured in various ways. The three-sum method, which is well described in the literature, is widely employed. Industry has now produced various measuring devices such as the M-1103, MS-7, M-416 etc. For some communications equipments (for example the M-409) it is required that ground resistance be checked under maintenance routines 3.5 and 6 with ground resistance meter MS-08 and not exceed 25Ω.

Safety measures against electric current must be observed with special strictness during the repair of communications equipment, during the performance of periodic servicing etc. when the presence of a second person and the use of protective equipment (gloves, insulated tools, rubber racks etc.) are required.

No less important are measures against noxious gas poisoning. The most frequently applied safety measures are: sealing off compartments, working with remote equipment, periodic ventilation, not leaving full cans of gasoline about, etc. Checking on carbon dioxide concentration is done with gas header GKh-4, with measurements made at an elevation of 10 and 110 cm from the floor every two hours for different versions of operation with the heater, with equipment, together, etc. The concentration must not exceed 0.03 mg/l.

Systematic checking and strict observance of safety regulations during the use of communications equipment are one of the main factors in high-standard execution of missions, in accident-free work with equipment, and in maintaining high combat readiness.

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BRIEFS

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE CAMPS--The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League (SCSP) holds over 70 spring and summer youth camps in the CSSR, where Russian language is taught. Besides qualified language teachers and SCSP functionaries from the CSSR, Russian is taught also by about 400 teachers and 500 Pioneer and Komsomol members who arrive every year from all of the parts of the USSR. [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jan 81 p 4]

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WORKERS MILITIA TRAINING GOALS FOR 1981 OUTLINED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 24 No 12, Dec 80 pp 1-2

[Article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, member, SED Central Committee; chief, CC Department for Security Matters: "At the Outset of the 1981-1985 Training Period"]

[Text] On 1 January 1981 a new training period for the workers militia begins. The preparation for it and its execution are totally governed by the 10th SED Congress and its significant resolutions for the further universal strengthening of our socialist GDR, the defense of socialism and of peace. With it, the workers militia enters a new phase of its development. Based on the conditions to be expected, demands made and criteria applied are higher in the 1980's. They are based on the constant worldwide change in the balance of power in favor of socialism, on the tasks of the further development of socialist society and its constant safe protection.

Clearly conscious of the magnitude and complexity of the tasks to be solved, our party early on concentrated on the absolute necessity of preparing all party members for the increased demands of the 1980's, because this will be decisive on how they are met. This shows the entire scope of the responsibility which the party leadership, all party organizations and every party member personally must bear in order to fulfill the expectations placed in them.

As part of the preparations for the party congress, and in fulfillment of the mission of preparing party members for the demands of the 1980's, the party leadership in the bezirks and kreises, leaders of party organizations in factories and institutions, and also the units themselves, are at present analyzing the degree of combat strength and combat preparedness reached, along with discussing and determining the new tasks. In this connection, the conference held by the secretariats of SED bezirk and kreis leaderships play an essential role. They are of great significance for the uniform orientation of party organizations, of commanders and of all those responsible for militia training and support. They are used simultaneously as a forum for the fertile exchange of experiences, in order to bring proven methods of militia work quickly into general use. These conferences were able to strike a positive balance. The results reached in the past training period and at the conclusion of tactical exercises showed convincingly that the militia fighters, NCO's and commanders did outstanding work under the leadership of the party in fulfilling and surpassing both tasks and goals of the

economic plan and of training programs. They thus emphasize again the high degree of understanding for the unity which exists between the economy and national defense, for the universal strengthening and the reliable protection of our socialist fatherland and of peace. As representative for all units, let us name especially the following motorized militia batallions: Franz Stenzer from Erfurt, Ernest Thaelmann from Rostock, Kurt Schwenker from Riesa, Robert Uhrig from Berlin, Max Lademann from the Mansfeld combine, Erwin Panndorf from Gera, Wenzel Verner from Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Hans Beimler from Potsdam.

The militia members' continuous high degree of readiness to serve and to achieve, the good to very good results reached in the fulfillment of the demanding goals and tasks in political and combat training, are an expression of the more extensive guidance, help and control by top party officials and by the party leadership in factories and institutions.

The more intensive political leadership by party officials has created important prerequisites for achieving the required increase in combat strength and combat preparedness and for fulfilling the tasks of strengthening combat collectives both politically and militarily. It must be pointed out that party organizations in factories and institutions, party groups in the units, the commanders and their deputies, have also done dedicated work in making the party's resolutions regarding the militia a reality. In all this, the increased leadership role of the party is reflected in each individual unit. Through that, the struggle for increased dedication in the absolute fulfillment of the militia's mission and the realization of the exemplary role of the communists was furthered considerably.

The excellent results achieved in the past training period are also the result of a more effective political-ideological work of militia class-consciousness training. Explaining to them emphatically the high demands made on them during training and exercises proved to be worthwhile. Current political events were evaluated more convincingly and were explained to them in connection with their mission.

The regular discussion of problems of militia work by basic organization managements, the resulting resolutions and their realization, as well as support by government leaders in factories and institutions have also made essential contributions to the further development of the militia. This must also be assured in the future.

The numerous measures undertaken by party organizations in factories and institutions to stabilize the number of personnel in the units and to increase the percentage of party members as well as their proportional distribution in the combat collectives led to the further political-moral strengthening of the units and their combat efficiency.

Our comrades in the peoples police, especially in the Ernst Thaelmann Central Commission for Militia and the Ernst Schneller militia school, are essentially responsible for the good results the militia was able to achieve in the past training period. For this they deserve thanks and recognition. The German peoples police is accepting more and more responsibility--with which it is entrusted by the party--for the training, combat preparedness and guarantee for the services of the militia.

A new quality has been achieved in socialist competition under party leadership and the active cooperation of government leaders, the police, commanders of all ranks, party squads in platoons as well as platoon and squad agitators. This was expressed not only in the stricter leadership by commanders, the various initiatives and the cordial atmosphere in competition in all units, but also in the disciplined fulfillment of all the stringent collective and individual obligations which have been taken on. They were a decisive basis for the excellent results which could be achieved in all areas of training. They stand for achievements which are highly valued and appreciated by the party.

The units calling for the central competition made an important contribution by being able to work out general points of emphasis. They thus gave the commanders a clear point of orientation for concentrating their main efforts at a solution. At the same time, they made it easier for all units to define their own goals and tasks in accordance with local conditions. The effectiveness and the ratio between expense and effectiveness of the central competition for the purpose of achieving higher quality, effectiveness and intensity in training as well as the strengthening of combat collectives are improved considerably. The increased combat strength and combat preparedness of all militia units are convincing evidence of this.

In retrospect to the past training period, it can be summarily stated that:

In the now completed training year 1980, and in the entire training period 1977/80, the workers militia, under party leadership, has honorably fulfilled its class mission by meeting the demands made on it. For this, gratitude and appreciation go to all men, NCO's and commanders.

With these excellent results they created for themselves the best possible basic conditions for the smooth transition into a new training period.

As everyone knows, it begins at a time when the struggle for peace has entered a phase of more intense conflict and the international situation has worsened considerably. The most aggressive forces of imperialism have embarked on a dangerous confrontation course. This has led to the intensification of the international class struggle. It is their goal to suppress the policy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, detente and securing of peace, which had been initiated by the 24th CPSU Congress with the support of all parties of the socialist community of states. They make the futile effort of creating for themselves military superiority over the socialist community, and in addition to this they are under the illusion of being able to not only stop the course of history but even to reverse it.

Comrade Erich Honecker clearly stated to these intentions:

"These would-be conquerors should know that we will expose their plans in the future also and that we shall always create reliable guarantees against their realization."

That this is in fact so was shown expressly, among other things, by the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" joint maneuvers of all armies of the socialist defense alliance, held on GDR territory.

Filled with optimism and burning for action, the workers of our socialist GDR--leaning more than ever before on the Soviet Union, the central power of the socialist world system--are meeting increased demands. Led by their Marxist-Leninist party, they concentrate their main effort on preserving mankind's most precious possession--peace. They make renewed great efforts in further strengthening the economic foundation of our country. Because it is not only the decisive prerequisite for meeting the growing needs of our people, but also for successful national defense. They also understand that it is absolutely necessary to constantly increase the combat strength and combat preparedness of all armed forces in order to let the most aggressive forces of imperialism know at all times that they have no chance whatsoever. They are also prepared to make sacrifices for these humanistics goals.

Curbing imperialism's most aggressive forces and compelling them to make peace is realistic because today the socialist community of nations is politically, economically and militarily stronger than ever before and is at harmony with the vital interests of all peace-loving peoples in the world, who are supporting its policy with more and more powerful actions. Imperialism, especially United States imperialism, on the other hand, is weakening, shaken by crises and, in its role as global police, is recognized, hated and opposed to an ever greater extent and in more and more countries--not by the ruling classes, but by the masses of the people, as their worst enemy.

However, nothing would be more damaging and more dangerous than to draw the conclusion from this that world imperialism is already weakened to such a degree that it could no longer realize its aggressive intentions. Especially because it has become weaker, its aggressiveness has intensified, and it would not be the first time that it seeks a way out in a war in order to emerge from its crisis and its defensive position. We neither underestimate nor overestimate its powers and possibilities. We must always draw the necessary conclusions from an always realistic assessment of the situation. For the 1981-85 militia training period, this is expressed pointedly in the motorized Ernst Thaelmann militia batallion slogan: 10th SED Congress require pace--we strengthen and protect our socialist fatherland with high productivity and with high combat preparedness!"

In the fulfillment of the class mission, it is most important that the militia reach an additional measurable increase in combat strength and combat readiness. This obligates the party leadership to constantly raise standards in militia leadership and training, and to include in this process to a greater extent than before all those who are responsible for the militia. The fact that the party's role and significance in the platoons is constantly growing deserves special consideration. This demands that they extend their influence, that they carry out their duties more regularly and more efficiently, that they create combat positions for the total fulfillment of their missions as outlined in the training

documents as well as the collective and individual obligations taken on in socialist competition, and that they evaluate the results of political and combat training, as well as morale, more realistically and more critically. In concrete terms: The decisive thing in reaching the quota is not only the time it takes to reach it, but rather both time and quality!

The standards of the communists continue to be the determining factor in the decision to further solidify and expand the leading role of the party in the workers militia. The growing demands emphasize now even more convincingly than in previous years the necessity to make every militiaman, NCO and commander conscious of the need to derive maximum benefit from every hour of training. This is primarily an ideological challenge and often requires breaking with old concepts and cliches, and of course also demands greater devotion. But only in this way can the necessary progress in the further intensification of the entire training be achieved and real reserves be tapped. Part of this is a stricter limitation on individual measures, based on the determined length of the training period. This is especially true for the exercises and alerts.

It is absolutely necessary to carry out all training outside of working hours, in order to continue strengthening our economy and national defense. Militia members must attempt to do exemplary work and fulfill their personal quota in exemplary fashion. They must actively exert their influence at their place of work, the entire factory and their residential area in maintaining order, discipline and safety, in preventing, i.e., exposing crime and other offenses. They must economize even more with energy, fuel and lubricants and considerably reduce wastage of weapons, technology, equipment and clothing through careful maintenance and repair. For this reason, the movements furthering excellence through competition and innovation must continue to receive great attention.

In order to fulfill the increased demands of the new training period, a high standard of class-conscious education for all militia members as well as political-ideological work concerning training and combat must be assured. Especially at this time of intensified international class struggle, it is more important than ever to further develop and strengthen decisive traits such as: unshakable trust in our party and government, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, a high degree of revolutionary alertness, obedience, an iron discipline and will for victory, a warlike manner of thinking and correct conduct, as well as an irreconcilable hatred for the imperialist class enemy. At the same time, the awareness of the justness and victoriousness of our Marxist-Leninist ideology must be deepened and our party's military policy problems must be explained even more convincingly as a party of the uniform, coordinated foreign, security and military policies of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The vital necessity of friendship with the CPSU, with the Soviet Union and its strike forces must be imprinted even stronger in the brains and hearts of all militia members and of all GDR citizens, especially the youth. That requires that the anti-Soviet propaganda which has been raised by the imperialists to the point of hysteria and war psychosis must be attacked and shattered and their accelerated armament which is camouflaged with the vile lie of "the danger from the East," and the aggressive goals which it follows, must be exposed. It is

very important to show the multiplicity, subtlety, complexity and critical nature of psychological warfare and ideological diversion, especially in the FRG, and to stifle it at the very start. This applies especially to the conflict with bourgeois ideology in all its forms.

All this must be combined with constant high political responsibility of the workers militia, with the realistic description of the hardships and merciless laws of war, as well as the resulting absolute necessities: to master the weapons completely, to hit the target with the first shot, correct conduct, and for each individual fighter and each collective to cope with immense physical and psychological demands. To this end, all proven forms and methods must be explored and discriminately used in political-ideological work. The quality of complex and realistic training must simultaneously continue to improve. Gross errors by militia fighters, NCO's and commanders must be corrected even more thoroughly and adamantly. It is for this reason that all units are to make even greater efforts to use relations with our partners more than before for more effective political-ideological education and combat training.

The cultivation of the glorious revolutionary traditions of the German and international working class, especially of their security and defense organizations, is becoming even more significant. This is also true for the militia's own traditions. They pursue, more than ever before, the class-conscious education of younger militia members and the political education of all citizens.

Socialist competition in the militia continues to be a decisive driving force for the exemplary fulfillment o. their class mission in the new training period. The high standards called for by the motorized Ernst Thaelmann militia battalion in Rostock for the first year of training and in honor of the 10th SED Congress guarantees that the standards reached so far will not only be upheld but even heightened. Under party leadership, socialist competition must live up to its educational and inspiring role even more.

It is the mission and honorable duty of every militia member, NCO and commander to show himself equal to meet the higher demands arising from our social development and the GDR's defense readiness. The reliable protection of our socialist fatherland and of peace is the guiding principle for our actions. With many new initiatives and a high degree of personal commitment, members of the workers militia emphasize that, under the proven leadership of the party and closely allied with all workers, they are determined and capable of fulfilling their class mission in an exemplary fashion in the future also, and that the party, government, the worker class and our entire nation can depend on them always.

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FRENCH JOURNALIST ANALYZES EVENTS IN POLAND

Party Official Appraises Situation

Paris LE FIGARO in French 14 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte, Warsaw: "Party Official Appraises Current Situation"]

[Text] This time it was quite easy to reach the press club where Mr. Lukaszewicz, member of the political bureau, was to inform the foreign correspondents for the first time of the view of the authorities on the current situation. The buses which usually crowd the street were absent. This living picture of the social, economic and moral crisis in which Poland is sinking increased even further the impatience with which we were waiting for the statement by the party leader.

Lukaszewicz did acknowledge the fact that for the past six weeks the country had been shaken by strikes. He added, however, that the discontent movement had peaked at the end of July and was now on the way to extinction. According to him, the workers "were raising strictly economic claims." He insisted that statements according to which political claims had been formulated were "inventions by dissidents." The economic demands, it was stated, had been met. Actually, in most cases the increases which were granted would have been granted in any case in the course of the third annual quarter. According to Lukaszewicz their cost to the annual budget would be seven billion zlotys. Yet 48 hours previously, a very high state, rather than party, official had told me that they would amount to 20 billion zlotys.

But what are the profound reasons for the current crisis? Those who hoped that Lukaszewicz would provide a detailed study, even though Marxist, were disappointed. In his view the system was not facing a basic problem such as the inadaptability of the political superstructure to changing economic realities as has been acknowledged to date by virtually all Polish intellectuals, including those who are members of the party. The difficulties were simply triggered by price increases of energy and raw materials and bigger imports caused by the poor harvests of recent years.

The leader of the political bureau, however, acknowledged that a new economic and financial management system would have to be introduced between now and 1983. It would include, in particular, a decentralization of power for anything not of strategic importance and would strengthen self-management organizations and cooperatives.

Official Propaganda Deficiencies?

Asked whether propaganda, of which he is in charge, is not continuing to provide nonsensical information, Lukaszewicz stated that those who criticize the propaganda are "those who, in the coffee shops, judge the situation in the country on the basis of rumors." Furthermore, he added, "one must not judge propaganda on the basis of television news." The dissidents, Lukaszewicz added, have no influence whatever among workers' circles (which is, actually, quite accurate) and have been reduced to serve as informers to foreign correspondents. The speaker added, however, that more strikes could be expected by virtue of the noise made on the subject by Radio Free Europe.

Public opinion, therefore, remains informed. The fact that everyone today in Poland indeed listens to Radio Free Europe may be due precisely to the fact that the people want to know what goes on in their own country and that these broadcasts fill the gaps left by official propaganda.

In the course of the press conference, however, Lukaszewicz provided some positive information. Asked whether he considered himself, as the common man believes, a representative of the "hard" party line, he answered that, "there are no differences of opinion whatever among Mr. Gierek, Mr. Babiuch and myself."

The meeting ended rather tensely to such an extent that the correspondents forgot the traditional courtesy applause which follows the performance of an official.

There was a moment of hope as the correspondents were about to leave the press club, having been lulled for two hours by Lukaszewicz's sweet rhetoric. Could things outside have changed with the stroke of a magic wand? No, this must have been a dream, the king is still without his clothes, the buses are still not running and the crowds, harassed by a working day and several hours spent in line to buy food for the family, are going on foot to the residential districts in the suburbs. The Polish foreign debt is still $20 billion, and the recession is still here. Clearly, reality is continuing to bow to the statements of the party's leadership.

Causes of Strike

Paris LE FIGARO in French 16-17 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] The Polish leaders no longer consider the fiction of purely economic discontent acceptable. Gdansk and its 50,000 striking workers who, like in 1970, once again have lit the torch of rebellion and are refusing today to let themselves be deceived by a simple increase in wages, have proved that the dispute which is shaking Poland today is certainly political as was confirmed by the thousands of peaceful demonstrators who marched on the streets of Warsaw shouting, "Freedom! Independence!"

The night watch carried by the workers from Thursday night to Friday morning at the shipyard, the solidarity displayed by the workers in other sectors, such as cab drivers and conductors who refused to work and the earnestness of the speeches of the "dissident leaders, have all emphasized the ridiculousness of the few concessions made by the leadership panic-stricken at the size and standfastness of

the movement. The workers were not tricked: "It is not a question of wages but of self-determination of the nation. . . ."

For what the challengers in Gdansk and, with them, the other Polish strikers want, represents, in fact, a most severe attack against a Marxist system: The creation of free trade unions, the flagrant proof, actually, that the boss-state is a bad boss and that the myth of the workers' paradise is no longer extant.

It is difficult to see how the authorities would yield to such a suicidal demand, whatever the degree of freedom which Edward Gierek may have enjoyed in his relations with the Kremlin.

Actually, Prime Minister Edward Babiuch merely noted in his speech to the nation last night the crisis which reflects the desire of the government to pursue the dialogue of economic claims but which also represents, at the same time, a rejection of any political demands.

However, it is equally hard to see how the government--or its protectors--could intervene in order to put a stop to the rebellion. Warsaw is neither Prague nor Budapest. Poland, with its 35 million population, its economic development and ties with the West, which make it relatively independent, and its ancient hatred of the Russians, cannot be brought to heel that easily.

Let us also not forget that today it has a spokesman who commands a global audience, Karol Wojtyla, John Paul II, a simple word on whose part would have incalculable consequences on public opinion.

Gdansk Disturbance

Paris LE FIGARO in French 16-17 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte, Warsaw: "'LE FIGARO's' Margueritte Reports on Gdansk Disturbance"]

[Text] Aware of the fact that the crisis experienced by the country had reached a decisive point, last night Mr. Babiuch, the prime minister, delivered an important speech on television. The tone of the head of the government was extremely moderate and conciliatory, showing that the authorities had definitely chosen the route of dialogue and wisdom. After acknowledging that so far the country had been inadequately informed of existing difficulties, the prime minister exclaimed: "Let us discuss, let us face each other and let us reach agreement. The strike, however," he added, "settles nothing." Finally, in an effort to satisfy the working class, Babiuch announced that meat prices would remain frozen until the autumn of 1981.

Such a moderate attitude, adopted the very day Mr. Gierek had returned to Poland after his Soviet vacation, is an encouraging sign. It does indicate, as the liberal elements had hoped, that Gierek had finally decided to throw his entire authority in support of the policy of reforms and realism adopted by his prime minister.

The least that the situation demanded was the taking of such a stand.

The 17,000 workers of the Gdansk (formerly Dantzig) shipyards, together with the workers of two other city enterprises and streetcar and bus drivers, are striking.

In this case Gdansk has the meaning of a symbol. No one has forgotten that it is here that the 1970 troubles began which resulted in the fall of Mr. Gomulka and Mr. Gierek's assumption of power.

True, the authorities have learned their lesson from the ten-year old events. On this occasion they took great care not to use force. Instead, they immediately entered into negotiations. So far, therefore, everything has been peaceful. Understanding was rapidly reached on four claims raised by the workers:

The rehiring of the two fired workers;

Erection of a monument to the workers killed in the 1970 troubles;

A raise in wages;

Guaranteeing that the strikes will not be punished.

The authorities accepted the workers' demands on all these points even though the agreement to raise wages was somewhat more difficult to reach. The workers who, initially, asked for an increase of 2,000 zlotys (about 250 francs) ended by accepting the offer of the authorities to grant a raise of 1,200 zlotys, an offer they had initially rejected.

However, the Gdansk workers have raised claims of a political nature, thus confirming the continuing politicization of the workers' discontent. This marks a turning point in the current crisis. The claims which were formulated were the following:

Release of political prisoners;

Rehiring of workers dismissed in the aftermath of the 1970 and 1976 disturbances;

And, above all,

Dissolution of the trade unions.

Commemoration Of A Victory Over The Red Army

The local authorities having proclaimed themselves incompetent to deal with such matters, the workers demanded the participation of "someone competent such as, for example, Prime Minister Babiuch" in the discussion. It is not excluded, therefore, that, as was the case of the January 1971 strikes, when Gierek had come personally to negotiate with the workers, that another high state official accept to open the dialogue. The escalation of the malaise has been, therefore, rapid, and at this point the possibility that the crisis could be resolved without an important political decision being reached, seems excluded.

While the Gdansk workers were launching their strike, the people of Warsaw, in turn, were taking part in an important patriotic demonstration. Unquestionably, it was the most impressive and the most moving we saw in the country. The occasion, in fact, was an exceptional one: the Poles were celebrating the 60th anniversary of the glorious victory they had won on 15 August 1920, with the help of a French expeditionary corps commanded by General Weygand and with the participation, among others, of Captain de Gaulle, over the Red Army which was at the

doors of the capital. The whole thing began with a religious service celebrated at St. Anne's Church (Acedemic) at the gates of the old city. The church was crowded and several thousand people had had to be left outside. The atmosphere was particularly poignant. Next to me an old woman was crying. She was not the only one to do so. Many of the men were wearing their decorations. Mothers had come with children of all ages. What was remarkable, however, was that most of those present consisted of young men and women between the ages of 20 and 35.

In his sermon the priest exhorted the faithful to "trustingly raise their arms to the sky as they had that day, in 1920." He celebrated this "miracle" of unity in the prayer to the Virgin, of social and national unity. After describing the 1920 victory over the Bolsheviks "a milestone not only of Polish history but of the history of mankind," he asked the faithful "for respect for those who fell 60 years ago," to display today "the sense of true responsibility for the country."

Self-Determination

Following the mass a remarkably disciplined procession of some 5,000 people was formed.

Mr. Ziembinski, one of the dissident leaders, spoke: "It is not a question here of economic problems or of higher wages. For us it is a question of the self-determination of the nation, of a self-determination which is the fundamental right of any people," he exclaimed. He recalled not only 1920 but 1939 as well, when "two imperialisms joined in crushing Poland." Under the enthusiastic applause of the participants he added that, "we are feeling the consequences of this to this day." In conclusion, the speaker stated, "the great of this world may meet in Helsinki, Belgrade, or Madrid. As long as not the representatives of the nations but of the governments which were imposed on them will participate in such talks the cause of freedom will not be advanced by one inch." This was justifiably followed by a long ovation.

Then the participants in the procession marched to a site to lay another wreath bearing the inscription, "To the Soldiers of 1920, From the Polish People." During the ceremony the honor guard at the foot of the monument was changed. The crowd opened to let the soldiers pass, chanting, "Long Live the Polish Army!" The young soldiers themselves seemed quite touched. Then, the thousands of participants alternately chanted two words: "Freedom! Independence!"

Finally, after singing the national anthem, the crowd dispersed most peacefully. At no point did the law-and-order forces show up. The demonstration had taken a symbolic value. In fact, many Poles are beginning to ask themselves whether a new "Miracle of the Vistula" may not be able to save today the country from the crisis into which it is sinking deeper and deeper.

Committee-Government Negotiations Noted

Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte, Warsaw: "Difficult Workers' Committee-Government Negotiations Noted"]

[Text] The situation in Poland remains confused and tense. There is little probability that this coming Monday work at the Gdansk shipyards will resume. The simultaneous negotiations conducted in Warsaw by a delegation of seven workers

received by the Central Committee, and locally by Mr. Jedynak, minister of heavy and agricultural machine industry, on behalf of the government, had, in fact, resulted in an agreement reached on Saturday at 1400 hours. Several hours later, however, it was challenged.

On Sunday, in an effort to reach an overall solution, a joint strike committee was set up, representing the 21 enterprises in Gdansk, where work had come to a standstill, while on the other hand, a governmental commission had been set up, headed by Mr. Pyka, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, to pursue the negotiations with the Gdansk workers. The talks began as early as Sunday evening. The workers let it be known that the joint strike committee will remain functional even after the end of the negotiations in order to supervise the implementation of an eventual agreement.

According to the Interpress News Agency, which cited government sources, by Saturday afternoon of the 17,000 workers no more than 800 strikers were still occupying the Gdansk shipyards. It was pointed out that it was this minority group which seems to have refused to implement the concluded agreement, whereas most strikers had gone home intending to return to work Monday morning.

This version is challenged by the dissident circles who claim that, in fact, it is the majority of the workers who have challenged the agreement. Furthermore, on Sunday, most of the workers returned to the shipyards where the occupation strike is continuing.

Official sources claim that the "hard line" minority has also accepted the terms of the agreement but has decided to continue the strike for reasons of solidarity, as long as the situation affecting the 21 enterprises which stopped work in Gdansk and its surroundings remains unsettled.

Together with the adjoining cities of Gdynia and Sopot, Gdansk constitutes as extensive agglomeration known here as the "triple city," somewhat similar to Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing in France.

The agreement reached Saturday involved, specifically, a wage increase of 1,500 zlotys (about 200 francs), even though the workers wanted 2,000 while the state offered 1,200. Furthermore, the authorities had agreed to free elections of trade union delegates to be held shortly at the Gdansk shipyards. Let us recall that since the beginning of the strike the authorities had agreed to meet three other claims on the rehiring of two fired workers, the erection of a monument to the workers who had been killed in the 1970 troubles and the guaranteed safety of the strikers.

Saturday and Sunday Gdansk remained calm even though the ghost of the 1970 events continued to haunt their minds. Masses were celebrated on Sunday at the Gdansk and Gdynia shipyards. The stores had remained open on Saturday and long lines of people had formed in front of them, obviously for the purpose of stocking up on supplies. Security forces in Gdansk remained absent.

Conflicting Informations

In a statement made Saturday--considered by some, unquestionably, with a certain degree of exaggeration, an ultimatum, Fishbach, the Gdansk first secretary of the

party, let it be known that he guaranteed that the militia would be kept away at least until Monday.

Actually, the official circles continued to show a certain optimism and the hope is that work will resume quite soon. In order to prove that the situation is viewed calmly, it has even been specified that, considering the present state of things, Gierek was not considering a postponement of his scheduled visits to the FRG, following the Chancellor Schmidt's invitation, starting with Tuesday.

Be that as it may, following the development of events remains a difficult task. All telecommunications in Gdansk have been interrupted. Gdansk can still be reached by road but the journalists within the city are unable to send out their information. To do so they must return to Warsaw, which is 150 kilometers away. As to the official Polish news agencies, they supply frequently contradictory information which varies from one hour to the next.

The television speech delivered Friday evening by Prime Minister Babiuch remains the main topic of conversation. The general reaction has been quite favorable. The moderation of his tone and the realism of his statements have been noted. The most frequently expressed regret by the Poles, however, is that the speech was not delivered earlier. I was told by a friend in Warsaw, expressing the opinion of the majority on this subject, that, "had all this been said one month ago it would have stopped the discontent movement; today this may no longer be sufficient."

The Myth Of Party Unity

After recalling the difficult economic situation, the Prime Minister had made the following appeal: "Let us discuss, let us face each other and let us reach durable agreements." He had added that the government would submit very shortly to the plenum a specific program of action aimed at rescuing the country from the crisis and , in initiating particular, structural reforms. He had asserted his belief that Poland would be able to prove to everyone, including the friendly countries, that it can resolve its domestic problems "intelligently and independently." This barely concealed allusion to the Soviet Union was greatly appreciated by Polish public opinion.

The most important feature, on a medium-term basis, is the political significance of Mr. Babiuch's speeches. They do prove that Mr. Gierek, barely back from his Soviet vacation, has finally decided to abandon the usual myth of party unity and throw his full personal authority behind his prime minister. The latter had kept silent since the beginning of July, obviously unable to impose his views on the orthodox party membership.

Mr. Gierek's arbitration in favor of Babiuch's pragmatic and reformist line represents, therefore, a resounding defeat for the "hard liners" in the apparatus, a defeat whose political consequences will be very serious and will become apparent at the already scheduled forthcoming meeting of the party's Central Committee plenum.

Link Between East, West

Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Paul-Marie de la Gorce: "Poland Viewed as Link Between East and West"]

[Text] Significantly, the events in Poland, even though currently limited to strikes, have triggered a degree of attention close to anguish. Any severe trouble in that country, as in any other eastern European country, brings to mind the resulting commotion for our continent. Should major political consequences follow, evoking, at the same time, the recollection of Soviet interventions aimed at maintaining the lines of division which have existed for the past 35 years. Too many events, from the Yugoslav dissidence of 1948 to the Czechoslovak affair to 1968 indicate the relative fragility of the international order prevailing in eastern Europe.

Exactly five weeks ago, reacting to the excessive propaganda promoting the belief that the USSR enjoys some kind of universal omnipotence, we emphasized this fragility as one of the weaknesses or problems faced by the Soviet empire or the "the socialist camp" if one refers. This is illustrated by current events. All that remains is to establish their significance not only for the sake of noting their development but also of determining what we could or should do.

Contrary to current Western opinion, according to which the communist countries are always depicted as set, rigid, identical, and immutable, Polish society has changed considerably. For simplicity's sake, let us say that most of the country's agriculture and some of its domestic trade have been turned back to the private sector.

Naturally, industrial development and the search for a steady growth of the purchasing power have created tremendous difficulties summed up by a foreign debt of $17 billion. This fact alone reveals the consequent tremendous inflationary pressures which massive food price supports attempted to conceal.

The Polish leadership tried to resolve them by resorting to a kind of anticipation justified, in their view, by major discoveries of mining resources and the worldwide increase in coal prices. However, this could not prevent them from facing, at one point or another, the need to take rehabilitation measures similar to those used anywhere else in such cases. We know, therefore, that the refusal of a large percentage of the working class to pay their price is a direct cause of the current events.

In the final account, however, the essential fact is that the entire development of Polish society has always been determined by social claims: it occurred under the pressure of popular demand. This applied to the 1956 Posnan strikes and Warsaw events, the 1956 Gdansk riots and the 1976 Radom strikes. These were the origins of the changes in the political line, the economic orientation and the social structures. That is why today weighing the "political" and "economic" aspects of the workers' claims would be an exercise in futility. What mattered in the past and what matters today is that the Poles are being heard and manage to influence the decisions of their leaders in one or another area.

Let us not, therefore, either minimize or exaggerate the changes which have occurred. Their current and future limits are determined by realities which

would be a folly to ignore, including geographic and, consequently, strategic facts. Poland sits between Russia and East Germany, in the heart of the Berlin-Warsaw-Prague-Budapest quadrilateral. Without its participation this structure cannot be held together, something which no one can ignore. On the European scale, however, Poland is a big country not amenable to a military raid: its size and population prevent anyone from doing so. Finally, Poland is a nation where, basically, several powers coexist: the government and the party, the administrative and economic cadres, the [Catholic] Church and, beyond its borders, the Soviet Union and the Pope himself.

The Pope's influence and even his hold over a big majority of the population became possible to determine in the course of his trip around the country. So far, unquestionably, he has supported moderation, displaying, if one may say so, his understanding of the problems facing the political leadership. Whatever the case, the very fact that he is a Pole with both an international and a national audience, will have a great bearing on the government's decisions.

At this point the question of the stand to be adopted toward the Polish situation arises. It may be deduced from the remarks we have just made. In an interview granted to the weekly L'EXPRESS, asked about the consequences which detente may have had in the socialist countries, Valery Giscard d'Estaing cited Poland as an example of nations whose development had benefited from detente. In effect, experience has clearly indicated the existing link between internal changes, which have taken or could take place in a country such as Poland and its foreign relations. Everyone realizes that extreme tension would unquestionably revive the entire rigidity of the discipline prevailing in the communist bloc, and would prevent any concession or development. The relative freedom of action enjoyed by Poland, for example, in its economic relations with the West, or the changes which it has made in the functioning of its own political system have been made possible by the fact that relations between the European East and West have become more numerous, more reasonable, and more regular. Nothing more. This has been sufficient, however, to change the political and social climate of the country, at least to a certain point.

It is understandable, therefore, why the Polish leaders have passionately encouraged the preservation of the gains of detente despite the major shock caused by the Afghan events. The situation of their country enables them to determine the extent to which detente is useful, wherever it is possible, i.e., in a part of Europe where the use of force has been long abandoned in revising the partition lines. Concern for the ways of Polish development weighed heavily in the decision of the President of the Republic, urged by Gierek to accept a meeting with Brezhnev precisely in Warsaw, when Brezhnev was paying a visit to the Polish leadership. Significantly, the French attitude was expressedly approved by the Pope.

The least we could do in the face of the trials of the Polish people is to respect their behavior and choices. Elementary decency calls for abstaining from preaching a war which will not be fought, call for uprisings in which we will not participate, or for adventures which we will not risk. Particularly in the case of France, it is a question of steadily and consistently trying, through its behavior policies and available aid and trade, to encourage anything consistent with that country's national will and people's demands.

Three Priorities Discussed

Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte: "Polish Diplomacy's Three Priorities Discussed"]

[Text] Still planned for tomorrow and for Wednesday, the Gdansk events notwithstanding, the talks which Gierek will hold in Hamburg with Chancellor Schmidt are within the framework of a diversified foreign policy, Poland being the most open eastern country to the West.

"Our foreign policy," I was told by one of the highest Polish party figures who did not want his name mentioned, "has three priorities outside of the socialist camp: relations with France, with the Vatican and, finally, with the United States."

My interlocutor went on to say that this Polish policy which, he specified, "is within the framework of the overall policy of the socialist camp yet serves the interest of the country," represents today "one of the best national cohesion factors." In effect, "even the Church agrees with these major options." Asked how to interpret Gierek's recent statement on "the role of medium-sized and small countries, whatever major political group they may belong to," the same member of the party's leadership answered that this was nothing basically new and was consistent with the Helsinki Agreement. He immediately added, with a smile, that "it is true that, this time, our leader spoke in more precise terms that in the past."

This high Polish official refuses to admit that the deterioration of the international climate started with the Afghan affair. We took turns mentioning the role of NATO's December decision on Euromissiles and the placement of the Soviet SS 20. In the view of my interlocutor the first major blow struck at detente was the May 1977 NATO decision suggesting to its member-countries a three percent annual increase in military budgets.

However, this official admitted with some degree of satisfaction, the situation is better than it was several months ago. "At least we are in a period in which tensions are not becoming further aggravated." This makes it possible to look forward to the Madrid Conference with a certain degree of confidence. "Poland's wish is that in the course of the talks a balance among the three baskets may be reached. Our objective is the reaching of two or three specific agreements per basket." Naturally, the basic objective of the socialist countries today is to extend political detente to military detente. Initially, it would be a question of developing "measures of trust" (advanced notification of military exercises and limiting their extent, for example). As to the third basket, my interlocutor pointed out that an agreement on the exchange of young people would be probably concluded in the course of the visit which President Giscard d'Estaing will pay to Warsaw toward the end of September, and believes that this is an example which could be broadened.

This high official went on to express the hope that the Madrid meeting will make it possible to reach an agreement on holding a disarmament conference. He contributed an interesting specification: "Edward Gierek has suggested that such a conference be held in Warsaw. However, the place is not all that important, what is important is that it be held at all."

We then touched on the German question: "The power of the Federal Republic is an objective fact which must be taken into consideration," that eminent Polish leader told me, immediately adding that, "Poland believes that the existence of two German states is the very basis for European security. Any change of this view, whatever the circumstances, is out of the question."

On this subject, the representative of the Polish authorities expressed to me "the surprise and bitterness felt in Warsaw at the signing of a document by the NATO foreign ministers, in Ankara, supporting the reunification of Germany.

In conclusion, we must mention the internal situation of the country which affects the success of its foreign policy. My interlocutor who, in fact, has the reputation of being one of the most brilliant and most open members of the party's leadership, answered me with great composure: "There is nothing abnormal for the workers to show their discontent. We discuss and we settle the problem. Furthermore, reforms in depth are necessary. Unquestionably, they will be made. For example, we shall strengthen self-management and the power of the voivodes (province governors). However, bearing in mind the current difficult economic situation, we must be cautious and proceed step by step.

Democratization of Socialism

Paris LE FIGARO in French 14 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte, Warsaw: "'LE FIGARO' Journalist Comments on Democratization of Socialism"]

[Text] After the Sixth Central Committee Plenum and the session of the Sjem, held last week, finally, after so many troubled weeks, Poland is experiencing a relative calm. The atmosphere, nevertheless, remains rather strange, consisting of a wait which fluctuates between hope and concern over an uncertain future.

Unquestionably, the discussions and conclusions of the plenum indicated that the new party leadership had truly and firmly decided to formulate a program for renovation and democratization. It is clear that Mr. Kania and his friends had no intention of turning back.

Is, therefore, the democratization of Polish socialism on its way? Actually, the reality is that virtually no one would risk today to draw such a conclusion. On the contrary, the more the prospects for a renovation become specific and the chances for democratization more emphatic, the more a vague concern for the future is secretly felt.

In this case, it is not merely a question of fear of foreign intervention, even though this concern is clearly present in the minds. Let us merely recall in

this connection that the Polish problem represents for the Soviet Union a major drama whose resolution could be nothing but unpleasant.

Today the essential features of the obstacles and concerns are related to what is taking place in the country itself, for it is precisely here that the renovation battle will be won or lost. However, there are many and powerful obstructions to democratization. There are at least five of them, as follows:

1. The difficult renovation of the party. Poland remains and will remain a member of the socialist comity, and the party will continue to play a dominant role in it. This geopolitical reality, which could not be requestioned without a global deflagration, is a sufficient explanation of the fact that the future depends on developments within the party. Yet, the party is experiencing a severe crisis, not to mention disintegration. Its three million members, which include, true, a number of careerists and opportunists, are more or less demoralized and have proved incapable of facing the situation. Every one realizes, therefore, that today there is no hope for democratization in a country unless it begins within the party. This is a frightening task, however: for a number of years the party has been governed by a bureaucratic apparatus which has taken over its machinery and assumed control over its, theoretically at least, elected organs: the Central Committee and the provincial committees.

2. The objective alliance among extremists. The intransigent elements within the party, therefore, are continuing to wait for their hour to strike. Any kind of aggravation of the situation, any provocation, could provide them with the instant arguments which they currently lack. What Kania has described as "the alliance of common sense people," remains, therefore, threatened. Happily, the attitude of the Church remains here an element of stability which continues to play a moderating part.

3. The influence of pressure groups. Even though few studies have been made of this reality in a socialist country, every one is familiar with the great importance which the "lobbies" enjoy here. Sociologist Jan Szczepanski has pointed out that such interest groups, which are very well placed and powerful throughout the country, have been very effectively able so far to block any attempt at reform, particularly in the organization of the economy which would involve a certain decentralization and democratization which would weaken their positions.

4. The catastrophic economic situation: furthermore, the policy of renovation must be carried out at a time which is, unquestionably, the least favorable for the purpose, while the country is experiencing a severe economic crisis. The strikes settled nothing. Thye entailed a drop of output of 50 billion zlotys (about seven billion francs) while salary increases totalled 150 billion. Inflation has worsened. Supplies on the marketplace are becoming more and more scarce. Furthermore, the pace of the work has still not reached a normal level. Industry is operating at 80 to 85 percent of capacity. Furthermore, the shortage of energy resources is already being felt. By mid-October it had necessitated power cutoffs affecting some plants as well. How could a democratization program be introduced under such conditions?

3. Civilization barriers: there are more basic reasons for looking at the future without a feeling of delirious enthusiasm. In effect, the bankruptcy of the system is not solely the result of the workings of a hardened bureaucratic system but is also related to a specific stage of development of Polish civilization. In this connection, it is distressing to note that the party continues to prove itself incapable of undertaking an analysis, preferring to blame the political or moral insufficiencies of one or another leader as responsible for the situation.

A Historical Monument

How could the Poles learn democracy? Here there is no identification of the nation with the state. In the 19th century the country was divided among its neighbors: obedience to the state, therefore, was the mark of lack of patriotism. This fact has become part of the national subconscience.

Furthermore, how could an efficient economic system be organized considering that the country's urbanization and industrialization are only a recent phenomenon? How to ask of a worker coming from the countryside lacking any worker's tradition to be highly productive?

The same applies to demoralization. Social inequalities are not merely the result of a system which leans in favor of the poor and the countryside rather than good work, but also the result of a time of development at the dawn of a consumer society when appetites rise while goods are not available to all and, therefore, can be frequently obtained only with the help of bribes or affiliations with one clique or another.

The most fascinating aspect of the current situation is, perhaps, the conflict between theoretical socialism in power and the associations which are the real base of a developing working class. This is a historical moment which no one can avoid.

Poland, therefore, is learning democracy under the worst possible conditions, in the midst of a sharp crisis. Many aspirations and hopes will remain necessarily unfulfilled. There is a great risk that this might lead to new confrontations whose consequences could be catastrophic.

Gierek's Intentions To Leave

Paris LE FIGARO in French 17 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Jean-Paul Picater, Bonn: "Gierek's Intention To Flee to West Noted"]

[Text] Had Edward Gierek, the head of the Polish party, tried to flee to the West with his wife shortly before his unexpected resignation, in the period of the major strikes, at the beginning of September? That is the claim of the BERLINER ZEITUNG and the BERLINER MORGENPOST (West Berlin) of the Axel Springer chain, citing "reliable sources." The plans of the Polish communist leader are said to have been exposed by the Soviet police, resulting in his detention before he was able to reach Denmark. Conversely, the flight of Mrs. Stanislawa Gierek to France is said to have been successful. It is alleged that Mrs. Gierek took with her money and valuables. It is also alleged that her husband maintained a bank account in France for many years.

Still according to our German colleagues, Mr. Gierek is said to have contacted Danish trade unionists at the beginning of the summer to inform them of his plan, his intention being to request political asylum in Copenhagen. It is there that Soviet espionage is said to have learned of his preparations.

It is alleged that Mr. Gierek had "undergone treatment" in a hospital following his arrest. Previously the former Polish secretary is said to have been interrogated in Moscow.

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DISSIDENT MOVEMENT, PUBLICATIONS ANALYZED

Paris EST ET OUEST in French Aug-Sep 80 pp 219-221

[Text] The French press has spoken of Polish resistance only episodically: a demonstration, an arrest, a trial here and there, etc. The relations, termed "exemplary" or "model," between the Fifth French Republic and the People's Republic of Poland are classified thusly for a good reason. We do not want to create problems for our good friend Gierek! It also appears that the journalists (they are not the only ones) have not realized the true nature of the Polish situation. To do this, we must resort to the history of this country. In fact, since 1795 (except for the 20 years between the two world wars), the nation has been battling the government, which is a government that has been imposed by foreign powers. For generations, this massive struggle has been waged by all of the social classes.

Due to the fact that this resistance is conducted by the entire public, the term "dissidents"--perhaps valid for other countries (which is very debatable)--has a false ring in the case of Poland. To be truthfully logical, the term "dissidents" is really applicable to the government itself. This fact was proven on several occasions: in 1956, 1970, 1976 and (in another way) in 1979 during the visit of John-Paul II.

The geographical situation of the Moscow-Berlin axis (such was not the case for Budapest!) and history (the Poles occupied Moscow from 1610 to 1612 and, up to the present time, are the only ones who ever won a war against Soviet Russia [1920]) furnish the Poles with moral weapons for their resistance. In December 1970, Brezhnev had quickly declared that the demonstrations along the coast had a social significance and not a political one in order not to be obliged to go and "help" his friends in power.

The sad experiences of successive occupations since 1939 have dictated a new tactic to the Polish resistance movement: now the opponents always act by referring to the Constitution that has been proclaimed by the regime, the text of which is violated by the governing powers every day in the week. Resorting to conspiracy is no longer necessary during the present period.

Multiplication of Groups

Movements, groups, committees, etc are multiplying. Some of them consist of the youth, others union people, others Catholics, intellectuals, etc. Each group includes leftists, rightists and nonpolitical (but not "neutral") individuals. All of the

programs have a common base, namely, the struggle for the rights of man and the nation. Their "anticommunism" is, in a way, a side issue and implied. This permits cooperation between the Catholic Church and the noncommunist left wing whose patriotism is common knowledge.

In most of the cases, the French press speaks about the Committee for Social Self-Defense KOR and the Human and Civil Rights Defense Movement (ROPCiO). It appears to us useful to furnish a few explanations with regard to the opposition in Poland, especially since events in this country are of current interest.

The veiled hostility of the Poles towards the Communist regime has lasted for 30 years. However, after the revolts took place, there was always an appeasement of short duration due to concessions made by the government. This time we are witnessing a deep wave which has continued for 5 years if we count from the date of the letter of the 59 intellectuals protesting against revision of the constitution (5 December 1975). Six months later, revolts by the workers took place (with regard to another problem), followed by creation of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR), the oldest of the political opposition movements.

A specialist of repression against the opposition, General Krzysztoforski, told newspapermen that the opposition contains about 30 "guidance groups" which issue 33 publications. There are probably more of them, perhaps 100. The cement which binds them together is negation of the regime. Nevertheless, their "high level" political statements do not show great differences among them.

Cleavage

From the discussions (which are sometimes passionate) in the opposition's publications in Poland and in the Polish press abroad, it may be deduced that the cleavage (except for personality clashes which are found everywhere and at any time) takes place between those who, while fighting the government, wish to retain a socialist system with the changes required by democracy and those who do not accept socialism, even when it is improved and retouched. This does not mean that the former are "leftists" and the latter "rightists." One may rather refer to quarrels between the "romantics" and the "positivists" of the era existing before the independence of 1918. With regard to the working method, we can conceive of three formulas: open activity with a defined option, clandestine activity and open activity with a limited number of members. The opposition does not believe in the usefulness of a clandestine struggle and organizes its action within the framework of the law dealing with organizations, asking for its full and complete application.

While the KOR, having changed its name to Committee for Social Self-Defense (KSS), has adopted the formula of 'citizens' committee," the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) has been organized as a political party with a general assembly, a political council and a "board of directors for current affairs." The large variety of opposition organizations does not correspond to an equal number of political programs. Political splits have a personal nature rather than a conflict of ideology or program. A formula has been invented whereby the opposition in Poland is "personocentric" rather than "programmocentric." Everyone is in favor of a "Poland of People's Movements" and emphasizes the social (not "socialist) character of the fatherland, once it regains its freedom. This certainly is due to the fact that the People's Republic has not been able to create an equalitarian society in a period of 35 years.

Evidently, the small groups, without losing their autonomy, draw close to the "leaders": KSS and KOR for the "left" wing and ROPCiO for the "right" wing. The same thing happens in the case of the publications.

Who Leads?

Who leads the opposition? First of all, people who were victims of Stalinism and, in the case of the youth, those who were militants of the events of 1968. We have heard of a working committee of the ROPCiO where 5 people who meet have been given a total sentence of 48 years in prison and have actually served 31 years, all before 1956. The older people prefer to join the ROPCiO and those of the next generation the KSS/KOR. As for the young folks, they are the most unstable and often change their affiliation, flitting from one group to another. Furthermore, as we have indicated above, the recruitment methods differ. For example, there are no young people in the affiliated groups.

Attitude of the Authorities

In order to understand the attitude of the official authorities of the People's Republic of Poland towards the opposition, it is necessary to distinguish between the political authorities and the police.

Up the present time, the political authorities have observed a semblance of "ignorant permission" or "permissive ignorance" as has been said. This means that they do not want any political confrontation, especially since the opposition acts in accordance with the legal bases of the constitution. It is only recently that the official press has mentioned a given group or a given publication by name.

The police practice the selective method: "Not everything and not everybody." Usually, they spare the "veterans." If one of them happens to be "locked up," he is freed within 48 hours and is no longer bothered. The police concentrate on the youth who have no political record that could endow them with a certain amount of notoriety within the country and sometimes abroad. Police pressure exerted on the young through the school, the factory and sometimes through the family, in order to persuade them not to militate within political groups, is effective in some cases.

Changes

Polish opposition is of a distinctly new type. Everything is done openly. Discussions within the various groups and their decisions are public, particularly since they are very often addressed to the authorities. Execution of decisions is based on volunteering. Those who have no intention of doing so simply withdraw, but will participate some other time. This system furnishes protection against police infiltration, which is quite important to the movement which contains hundreds of high level militants as well as thousands of others who are less involved but who constitute the "second line" of the opposition. The only thing that is kept a secret (and for good reason) is the technique used for manufacturing newspapers and books. The recent trial of the NOWA publishing house, which was extensively discussed by the French press, shows under what conditions the newspapers and books that do not undergo censorship are produced.

Organization of the movements of the opposition are frequent. One group disappears while another is created. If the organization stagnates, the dynamism of the opposition finds its confirmation in this fact.

This is why the organization chart of the movements and of their press has to be considered reservedly. These changes are easily explained by the atmosphere in Poland during the last few months.

The following list of movements (movements, groups, committees, etc.) is not exhaustive. Several of them are of a regional nature, which confirms the spontaneity of the opposition movements and their adaptation to the local situation.

1. Committee for Social Self-Defense KOR. Created in September 1967 and consists of 30 members. Those who leave are replaced by cooptation.

2. Human and Civil Rights Defense Movement (ROPCiO). Created in April 1977.

3. Students' Solidarity Committee (SKS). (This organization is not to be confused with the new initials of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR) which uses the same letters but has another meaning). Created in 1977. Exists in the following cities: Krakow, Poznan, Warsaw and Wroclaw.

4. Free Trade Unions (WZZ). Has 2 branches: Silesia and the Baltic coast.

5. Polish Youth Movement (RMP). Created in 1979.

6. Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN). Created in 1979. It considers itself to be a political party.

7. Committee for the Self-Defense of the Believers. It is active particularly in the provinces as well as in the eastern and southern portions of the country.

8. Committee for National Self-Determination.

9. Light and Life; Catholic movement; 35,000 participants.

10. Peasants' Defense Committees. Three centers of diffusion in the center of the country.

11. Society for Academic Studies (TKN). Includes more than 100 well known university professors and scientists.

In most cases, the organizers of the opposition movements are personalities in different fields well known in Poland. Many of them owe their fame to the trial that was instituted against them and to the fact that they were leaders of the workers' revolts (1956, 1970, 1976).

With respect to the "uncensored" press, the same reservation applies as in the case of the political organizations. Out of the 33 publications mentioned by the chief of security, we will only deal with 18, but here also we are ready to believe the claim.

1. Biuletyn Informacyjny (Information Bulletin). Created in 1976; organ of the KOR. One of the aims of this publication is to furnish its readers a minimum of legal information so that they may be able to defend themselves should the occasion arise.

2. U Progu (on the Threshold), created in October 1976. Closely related to the ROPCiO.

3. Opinia (Opinion). Founded in April 1977; monthly organ of the ROPCiO (approximately 70 reproduced pages and a circulation of 5000.

4. Postep (Progress); established in July 1977 for the working and farming public.

5. Robotnik (The Worker). Created in July 1977. Is closely related to the KOR. Proposes to defend the interests of the workers against the union officials who do not do so. (A certain L. Gierek appears on the editorial staff!).

6. Gospodarz (The Farmer). Is closely related to the ROPCiO. Fights collectivism.

7. Bratniak (Student Community). Published in Gdansk by the Polish Youth Movement for the purpose of defending the interests of the students.

8. Indeks. Established in October 1977 (as was Bratniak). Battles for autonomy of the universities and the schools of higher learning.

9. Spotkania (Encounters). Created in October 1977 by Catholic students of Lublin (one issue consisting of approximately 100 roneotyped pages). Proposes to become a discussion forum of the opposition.

10. Glos (The Voice). Represents free groups of workers and farmers. Circulation of approximately 1500 copies.

11. Zapis (The Record). In the jargon of government officials "Zapia" means "prohibition to print." This is a literary magazine which publishes the works of famous writers that thave been withheld by the Polish censors as well as other censors of the Soviet empire. Was founded in January 1977.

12. Puls (Pulse). A literary periodical published quarterly at Lodz.

13. Robotnik Wybrzeza (The Coastal Worker); founded at Gdansk in 1979.

14. Placowka (The Outpost) published in the village of Popowice-Chwalowice by the Farmers' Defense Committee.

15. Krytyka (The Critic), established in 1978; is a quarterly political periodical published by the KOR. A Czech and a Hungarian are on the editorial staff.

16. Res Publica, an independent political quarterly; founded in 1979.

17. Gazeta Polska (The Polish Newspaper). Created in 1979. Organ of the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

18. Ruch Zwiazkowy (Trade Union Movement). Established in 1978. Organ of the free trade unions of Silesia and the coast (Gdansk).

Within the editorial staffs of most of these publications, we find writers, professors, and scientists of the highest level who are well known, not only within Poland, but

also throughout the free world. As a result, the discussions dealing with the fundamental problems of the nation (Polish-German and Polish-Ukrainian relations, the building up of Europe, the economic and social organization of Poland, etc.) are serious ones but the defense of the citizens for some and the struggle against the communist government for the others do not prevent the opposition publications from being interested in the future. It is regrettable that some articles that appear in this press are not available to the western political world.

Several publications (Spotkania, Puls, Res Publica, Zapis, etc.) are published (by printing presses in this case) by the Polish community in the free world and find their way back to Poland.

7619
CSO: 3100

MINISTRY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON SCHOOL REFORM

Warsaw ZIELONY SZTANDAR in Polish 2 Oct 80 pp 3, 4

[Interview of Maria T. Mazurowa, Director, General Education Department, Ministry of Education and Upbringing, by Bartosz Glowacki, of ZIELONY SZTANDAR--date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] In their letters to the editor our readers ask us repeatedly: "How are we getting on with school reform? From the utterances of Minister Kruszewski one gathers that some changes are imminent. What will they consist of specifically?

[Answer] Broadly speaking, this change would amount to implementing the obligation of the 10-year general education not only in the 10-year school but also in a school that provides at the same time the training for a vocation. This however would require a somewhat longer, namely an 11-year cycle of education. And this form of modification, according to the initial plan, would be assigned the name of a secondary vocational school.

Thus we will follow as though there were two trends of education--one the 10-year school of general education, and the second, the secondary vocational school, based on the uniform 8-year school for graduates of its eighth grade, and those 3 years would comprise both the completion of a program of 10-year general education and vocational training.

In the same way, on the programmatic base of the eighth grade it is proposed to organize a certain number of 4-5 year technical lycees.

[Question] And what happens after 10-year school is over?

[Answer] Graduates of 10-year general-education school shall be able to make choice of either a 2-year specialized lycee with a particular theoretical slant (there are contemplated, for example, humanistic, mathematicophysical, biologico-chemical, socioeconomic, neophilological, and classical profiles), 2-year technical lycee, or--after brief (from half a year to a year) training--vocational work.

[Question] What good will come of such structural differentiation of our education?

[Answer] It will permit, in the first place, better utilization of the existing base, which is not expected to undergo any basic changes during the next decade. The instruction in higher grades of the 10-year school could be carried out under these conditions in buildings of the present general-education lycees or of the comprehensive gmina [rural parish] schools, and for vocational training use might be made of the facilities of already existing vocational schools. It is rather unnecessary to erect new buildings for this purpose.

[Question] Really, you are not saying that education does not require new investments, are you?

[Answer] That is out of the question. We must build, if only because a new demographic explosion is already beginning (this is already noticeable in kindergartens and elementary schools). The number of children will increase every year by tens of thousands and we shall have to find new places for them. In the countryside this is mainly the problem of improving the facilities housing comprehensive schools either through new investments which are clearly necessary or through modernization and expansion of existing buildings. The point is to take rural students out of inferior facilities that do not comply with modern educational requirements. We must also build in the cities, especially in the new housing estates where the number of students sometimes amounts to 40 in a single room.

[Question] You spoke of the proposed changes in the structure of our education but does not the program of the 10-year school itself require modification? They say--this is among other things the opinion of elementary school teachers--that it is too overburdened and too extensive. Children scarcely keep up with it and for many of them it is necessary to form compensatory groups.

[Answer] The program of a reformed school has not been as yet verified in its entirety, and therefore are not such opinions too hasty? It should be borne in mind that we apply the principle of introducing new methods on a trial basis in experimental schools; we have carried out and are carrying on such trials in 19 schools and each grade is followed by an evaluation of results. On the whole, it tends toward reduction of the subject matter of programs intended for a given grade.

[Question] Therefore, is the program overburdened since subject matter is being curtailed?

[Answer] Because the initial implementation relate to the draft programs--and we repeat that our programs are open--they will be further improved, primarily in the direction of stressing in them the basic subject matter essential to further study. After all, I cannot imagine a permanent, ideal program, to last forever. Programs should be subject to change and improvement. This is made necessary if only by continuous advances in science. Now, let us say that after 5 years it will be found that some elements of programs that until now had been considered very important are no longer of prime importance since new ones which are more vital have replaced them.

[Question] There falls upon us and our children an avalanche of information, for science goes forward and exerts pressure on school programs in the direction of their increase. Should we not defend ourselves against it?

[Answer] To be sure, there should be a selective approach to this problem. But how? I have worked in education for a dozen or so years and I know that everyone is against encyclopedism. That is so, but at the same time such knowledge is required everywhere. If a young man in taking entrance examination does not remember some formula, even though he could demonstrate his erudition or thinking otherwise, it is always said that he does not know, that the school did not prepare him. In other words, we criticize encyclopedism and at the same time require it.

But let us not exaggerate. Man must have a certain amount of knowledge, for he will have no basis for inference. There must be some amount of knowledge from every field of life which should be considered basic and indispensable. Irrespective of what he will do in real life--he must know.

I am a teacher of Polish, but I should have knowledge of certain principles of mathematical and logical thinking, otherwise it would be difficult for me to formulate conclusions logically and also build notional construction as a humanist. This is exactly the point of that extension of general education in order to equip all our youth with the greater possible and genuine knowledge, which I understand not only as the sum of information but as a basis for formulating one's own thoughts and also shaping one's life attitude, one's human attitude.

[Question] In commentaries on the 10-year school there was talk about how a teacher should chose from this program and make a selection. But what should be chosen and can all the educationists afford it?

[Answer] This may be accomplished by a teacher with at least several years of work experience. When I myself came to school immediately after graduation, it seemed to me that everything was of equal importance, and I required in the same degree the information, for example, on the struggle between pseudoclassics and romantics, as, let us say, about the position of Mickiewicz in our literature. Certainly these matters are of unequal importance and only later experience taught me that certain matters can be treated as information, others generally as context, and finally some others are absolutely indispensable and should be treated thoroughly. And so it is with those programs.

[Question] Let us talk of a rural school. What will be altered in the situation of gmina comprehensive schools? The ministry declared that no new comprehensive schools shall be created unless certain conditions are fulfilled... Meanwhile...

[Answer] In the first place: the ministry said clearly that comprehensiveness is indispensable to set in order the rural school network. It also said, at the very beginning when such schools were being organized, that in order for the comprehensive school to be created, the following criteria must be fulfilled: in the first place, material conditions--the base, if not better, then at least not worse than in the former school; next, cadres must be provided, transportation and feeding of children organized, and, finally, the approval of the social environment secured.

These criteria had to be considered jointly, not having one condition fulfilled and the rest not. And that was required. Was it done with equal scrupulosity everywhere? I doubt that.

[Question] In some schools which I visited, the required minimum was not achieved with regard to some elements, for example, one of the complete failures was the organization of transportation, without which, naturally, it is difficult to speak of a proper functioning of the school...

[Answer] Certainly, but besides all that, the assertion that the comprehensive schools operate under worse conditions when nothing is changed is not correct. For even if the gmina comprehensive school does not yet have a gymnasium, the former school did not have it either, which means that the conditions here did not worsen. We are speaking of change for the worse, but for the sake of truth let us also speak of what was improved in this comprehensive school.

Even under the more difficult housing conditions of the comprehensive school, the didactic-educational process profits, for it has no joint grades, the teaching is done by specialists, and the school is better supplied with educational equipment.

[Question] Are we not, by any chance, paying too high a price for this higher quality of teaching?

[Answer] This too should be taken into consideration. We are sometimes paying an excessive price in the form of longer travel time of the child to school and the costs connected with this--moral for the student and material for the Ministry of Education. But there are certain domains that are beyond the range of education and, let us say openly, should not concern the school. I speak of transportation. The PKS [State Motor Transport] transports only 60 percent of students, the rest is done by schools, quite often using very dilapidated buses for which there are no spare parts either... and by the SKR [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives], using truck trailers.

[Question] I return to the initial question: what next with the reform? What conditions must be fulfilled for its continuation?

[Answer] A rather vast subject; I will try to be brief... First: all questions connected with programmatic preparation of reform have been, naturally, settled. It is now only a matter of improving, verifying or modifying them in accordance with the changed model of school. As regards the external conditions of reform, they consist primarily of investments where the existing educational infrastructure, either numerically or by its standards, does not ensure a possibility of implementation of the program.

The second problem is the growing cadre requirements. The next condition is the increase of production possibilities of the industry of educational equipment. And finally, transportation. Here, either the PKS should make gradual additional investments, so as to take over the function of the chief carrier of students, or the educational authorities should receive more means of transport. As yet we receive barely half of our requests.

The socioeconomic situation of the country has compelled the Ministry of Education to effect the necessary modifications of the reform system proposed earlier. They consist precisely in doing everything possible to fully utilize the existing

possibilities and not to make any plans requiring excessive needs in the future, especially as regards investments. However, we cannot renounce certain things. For, no matter what school system we shall have, education costs, and will cost, more and more.

[Bartosz Glowacki] Thank you for the interview.

1015
CSO: 2600

CONTRIBUTION OF PATRASCANU TO MARXIST ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 80 pp 12-16; No 24, 20 Dec 80 pp 22-24

[Article by Radu Florian]

[No 23, 5 Dec 80 pp 12-16]

[Text] A basic landmark of Marxist sociopolitical culture in Romania involves the articles, studies and especially the final extensive surveys of Lucretiu Patrascanu. His books "A Century of Social Ferment," Basic Problems of Romania," "Under Three Dictatorships," " Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy" -- written between 1941 and 1945 -- interconnect as a genuine tetralogy devoted to the study and Marxist understanding of the roots of history, of the sociopolitical and economic characteristics of prerevolutionary Romania, to elucidating the alternative of its revolutionary development that had begun to evolve. The architectonic of his scientific outlook objectified in his books was pointed out by Patrascanu himself in an interview given to the writer I. Biberi in 1945: "I must emphasize that for several years, before entering house arrest, I began to passionately investigate all the facets of the Romanian phenomenon.... This need and of course my intellectual and spiritual adherence to the phenomena studied produced my three surveys, all focusing on the Romanian question. I tried to analyze the historical phenomenon in "A Century of Social Ferment;" the short-range economic and social problems were the topics of the book "Basic Problems of Romania;" the political aspect of the phenomenon was surveyed in "Under Three Dictatorships." I am now working on the fourth book, which actually completes the cycle "Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy." Even though the last topic fundamentally differs from the other topics, it is based on the same idea: scrutinizing all the factes of the Romanian phenomenon." [1]

This outlook indicates the systematic character of the analysis undertaken, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, its globality, because it covers, in the investigation, all the realms of the Romanian society, from that of the economy, including that of social and political relations and ending with matters of ideological trends. In this context, the analysis radically distinguishes itself from the economist-mechanistic interpretation of Marxism, prevalent during that historical period, an interpretation that often

limited Marx' outlook to an economistic explanation of the social reality. Also, by revealing the role of the social forces in shaping the course of historical events, of the importance of their ideological and volitive coherence, it differs from the positivist interpretation with its fatalistic outlook on social determinism.

Patrascanu's writings which we are surveying involve the most wide-ranging and subtle Marxist investigation of Romanian society made in the first half of our century, continuing and surpassing -- by the solidity of the argumentation and profundity of the explanation -- the one made by C. D. Gherea. As will be seen, they are proofs that it was possible to think in a coherent Marxist manner and undogmatically even during a period when the influence of dogmatism was fully expanding, and again point out the scientific value of Marxism as a tool of research and discovery of truth. Compared with the prior studies and articles of L. Patrascanu, these surveys prove, despite the presence of some debatable assessments and formulations which bear the imprint of the period, a great independence of thought, daring detachment from cliches that do not accord with the development of the historical process, and the exploration, even if not always in an explicit manner, of approaches geared to correspond to the values of Marxism and to the national-historical conditions of Romania.

Patrascanu's Marxist concept on the physiognomy of the Romanian interwar society and its problems is characterized by a few power-ideas or theoretical motives. In one form or another they pervade the structure of his writings and we will dwell on them in the following passages.

The first course of investigation involves the genesis of the capitalist society in Romania, the development of the traits which are characteristic of this process. It materialized in the book "A Century of Social Ferment," a veritable study of historical sociology which surveys early capitalism and the specific conditions of its emergence in our country. The significance of elucidating this matter was not only a theoretical one but also a profoundly political one, because the manner of approach and solution to this matter resulted in program guidelines of the action of the sociopolitical forces. It is enough to recall, in this context, the well-known controversy of the "form without content," which focused on the matter of the legitimacy of the 1848 revolution, of its social and cultural consequences, whose ideological residuals still partly make themselves felt today.

Patrascanu's thesis which he argues on many planes sets forth that the capitalist society was in Romania also -- moreover, like in other countries -- the primary product of domestic economic and social development, of a development in which the formation of capitalism involved many unique individual features. In the Romanian Principalities occurred a transition process with several distinctive stages between feudalism and capitalism, during which there was an amplified role of the precapitalist exchange economy, of commercial and usurer capital, and new productive forces took embryonic shape. These economic phenomena found expression in the differentiation of new social groups, those of merchants, artisans and later a preproletariat. The process extended from the second half of the 18th century to 1864, to the

agricultural reform initiated by Alexandru Cuza and M. Kogalniceanu. Patrascanu believes that this is the period of a serfdom regime, different from the feudal one, a theoretical distinction which he shares with the Soviet economist S. Dubrovski.

We consider that rather than the categorical differentiation of these two regimes, as it is done in the introduction to the book, on the grounds of the fact that under the feudal regime the rent in products was prevalent and under the serfdom regime, the rent in labor, this latter stage is characterized mainly by the superposition of the rent in labor with the rent in products and the rent in cash. The idea even results from the pages of the first chapter of the book "A Century of Social Ferment:" "Rent in products, rent in labor, rent in cash: all define three very distinct stages in the relations that developed between the Romanian peasantry and landowners. However, these three forms of rent do not appear successively but interweave....Corresponding to the parallel existence, in the Principalities, of the rent in products and of the rent in labor is the parallel process of partial conversion of some into cash form.... The enormous increase in the rent in labor is characteristic of the period after 1750.... Its interweaving with the rent in products and in cash.... does not alter the nature of the new regime under which from that point on this peasantry had begun to live: the serfdom regime." [2]

We must add that in "The Capital" Marx aptly points out that the most primitive and most simple form of the rent is the rent in labor, in which ".... the work of the producer.... is still distinct, in space and time, from his work for the landowner," in exchange the rent in products ".... involves a higher stage of culture for the direct producer, hence a higher stage of development of his work and of society in general," it being performed as a result of the economic relations instead of direct coercion, and the rent in cash involves ".... already a greater development of trade, town industry and generally of commodity production, consequently also of cash circulation." [3]

The discrepancy of these delimitations with the point of view expressed by Patrascanu in the introduction to his book presumably results from nondifferentiation of the rent in products characteristic of the tributary economy, to which Marx refers in a text on the Romanian Principalities in Volume 1 of "The Capital," therefore typical of the feudal economy.

However, essential in Patrascanu's assessments, beyond the inadvertence mentioned above, is conception of the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism as composed of several periods, in which that of development of the precapitalist commodity economy generated the conditions for the formation of the capitalist economy. A similar opinion was expressed, in a subsequent scientific discussion on this matter by many research workers, including P. Sweezy. He stated that "the transition from feudalism to capitalism hence is not an uninterrupted process, but consists f.... two completely different phases, which involve totally distinct problems and ought to be analyzed individually." [4] The American economist had in mind the

fact that the stage of a precapitalist commodity production had weakened feudalism and prepared the actual development of the capitalist relations.

The second dimension of the sociological investigation conducted by Patrascanu involved the physiognomy of the social forces involved in the historical processes that resulted in the formation of modern Romania. These processes were the scene for the clash of interests and action of the different social classes and categories characteristic of incipient capitalism, their degree of economic development and their political-ideological maturing, but also their weaknesses generated by the slow and delayed evolution of capitalism in the Romanian Principalities.

In this manner a frontal approach was made to the key problem of the dispute on the development of the Romanian capitalist society: was this the primary outcome of the influence of Western capitalism, of the ideas and revolutions in Western Europe -- as stated by the conservative "Junimist" movement and in a somewhat similar form by Dobrogeanu-Gherea himself -- or,conversely, was it the result of a growth phenomenon identical to that of Western capitalism.

Patrascanu's answer grasps the dialectical correlation between the features of the genesis and evolution of capitalism in general and the uniqueness of their manifestation in Romania's history. The demonstration points out that the genesis of capitalism in our country was not an exception in relation to world social development, but was neither a sheer copy, an imitation of the phenomena that took place in the societies of Western Europe, and even less a sheer product of import, devoid of local, characteristic objective, economic, social and cultural roots. Polemizing against the "Junimist" thesis of imitation or against Gherea's thesis of the prevailing influence of industrial capitalism, the book which we are surveying states: "The importance and impact of Western capitalism on the settlements and evolution of the Romanian people undoubtedly were significant.... Nevertheless, for the understanding and explanation of the social phenomena that occurred in the Principalities in the last century it is necessary, in the first place, to spotlight the domestic economic and social forces -- which, primarily, decided the course that was taken by the Romanian people in the last 100 years. Only the endorsement of this view permits the pinpointing of the veritable causes of the social and revolutionary movements throughout that period." [5]

Using this methodological approach in surveying the beginnings of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the Principalities, Patrascanu points out the historical diversity of the Romanian phenomenon: "Using criteria that are objectively correct but borrowed from revolutionary movements in Western Europe and attempting to find a similarity between the pandour revolution and what happened there, when the bourgeoisie opened its fight for power would result in distorting the Romanian realities. Undoubtedly, there are common points between the 1821 movement, as the beginning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Romania, and the similar movements in Western countries. However, in assessing this first revolutionary attempt in the Principalities one must constantly consider the actual level of productive forces and the context of their activity, the lack of a social differentiation

within the masses involved in the fight, the embryonic nature of a number of settlements which, elsewhere in Europe, had already reached maturity, at the point when the local bourgeoisie had noisily claimed its rights." [6]

The fact that the exponents of commercial and usurer capital -- and not the industrial bourgeoisie which did not exist -- played the leading role in the 1821 revolution accounts for its contradictions and limitations. They represent, in the incipient stage of capitalism, ".... the bourgeoisie in its primary tendencies, aspirations and interests" [7] with its progressive opening, even if they prove to be tempted by a compromise with the ruling landowner circles. Precisely therefore tsarist Russia's support given to the reactionary forces and the constant threat of the Ottoman Empire played the role of outside obstacles in suppressing the revolution, this being due ".... only to the contradictions born and developed within itself." [8]

The heightening of the contradiction between commercial capitalism, between the expansion of the area of commodity economy, including the capitalist one, and the articulations of the serfdom regime provided the objective ecohomic ground for the unleashing of the 1848 revolution. This contradiction undermined the serfdom regime, increased the social differentiation by a more marked delimitation of the bourgeoisie, of its claims to sociopolitical assertion, intensified the hotbeds of tension in the area of agricultural relations, promoted the peasantry's aspiration for emancipation, and, ultimately, revealed the national character of the complex social problems. Hence, it is clear that the 1848 revolution was by no means a fake process or merely a reverberation of the movements in Western and Central Europe, which later on produced some impact only in the sphere of the superstructure.

The action of the masses of the peasantry, the sections of artisans and of the manufacturing proletariat, of petty landlords and bourgeoisie, that played the leading role in the overall movement, was generated by the impact of the above-mentioned contradiction on their interests, by the will for satisfaction of their claims. In 1848 the bourgeoisie already represented a class with ".... a number of common economic and political interests, which dictatesit an almost unified attitude, drives it to political initiatives, causes it -- in the 1848 revolutionary crisis -- to place itself at the head of the movement." [9] It has an history of almost half a century and tends toward a capitalist development of the economy, even though its genetic process was far from complete. The fact that the bourgeoisie had not yet completed its commercial stage was its major historical limitation, the source of its revolutionary inconsistency.

The weakness of the bourgeoisie in the 1848 revolution, the failure of this revolution do not change its determined economic and social character, its renewing and progressive opening for the Romanian society. Significant in this respect is the situation that, though the objectives of the revolution were not achieved, its economic and social causes continued to operate, ".... amplified and intensified, nevertheless, finally, imposing the 1848 solutions. But it involved a different and, especially, an attenuated form

with a diminished content." [10] This different path was that of reformism, of keeping of significant serfdom vestiges. "The transformations which the revolutionary forces failed to impose from bottom to top, by adequate and especially radical means found incipient accomplishment from top to bottom, along the slow course of reforms and in the lukewarm and mild climate of compromise, that came about among the men of the old and of the new regime." [11]

Of course, the reformism used by the ascending bourgeoisie resulted in the inconsistent materialization of the goals of the revolution, hampered the historical development of the country, caused its lag, burdening Romania's destiny deep into our century. The real content of the dispute on the existence of a "form without content" in the history of Romania in the 19th century was provided by the consequences of the reformist evolution of capitalism, with the lag of the economy and the limitative factors of its progress, the acute social and political tensions which it produced. "Undoubtedly, there was a discrepancy between "content" and "form" if we want to use Gherea's terms. But this was not due to neoserfdom, notably to a regime that was characteristic of the Romanian society, but to the scant development of capitalism, which is quite different." [12]

An indisputable input of the analysis contained in the book "A Century of Social Ferment" on the revolutionary events in the first half of last century involves the spotlighting of their national scope. Patrascanu is the first thinker in our country to point out with scientific arguments the inner link between the genesis and development of capitalism, the revolutionary movement of the bourgeoisie and the formation of the Romanian nation, its historically objective character. "The national factor is superposed to the social factor (that is to the class interests, R. F.) and vice-versa," [13] L. Patrascanu aptly wrote in regard to the fact that the idea of uniting the fragments of a single people and recognizing them as an ethnic community is inextricably tied in with the genesis of the capitalist economy, with the political interests which it generates. The union of the Principalities becomes a political idea, a component of social awareness only under the above-mentioned historical conditions. "When studying the period and context of the genesis of national awareness, or rather, the national idea in the Romanian people, the phenomenon cannot be isolated from the economic, social and political framework in which it develops. Conversely, there is a strong link between the evolution of the standings and classes in the two Principalities and the first national or cultural manifestations which take place here. Neither the ancient nor the feudal society knew or had in their ideological patrimony the notion of... nation. The "national awareness" appears with the bourgeoisie, with its revolutionary struggle against the old regime." [14]

All this indicates that Patrascanu totally departs from one of the chief ideas of Gherea's neoserfdom theory, the one stating that ".... we did not have the internal social antecedents similar to those in the West that would have required the introduction of the new regime...." with its corolary, that "when a backward society comes into contact with Western capitalism, the

latter modifies its process of social life, revolutionizes all its socio-economic relations, and produces profound cultural changes...." [15] It is not the interdependence of Romanian capitalism with Western capitalism that produces the premises of the former, but they appear during an evolution, which, true, is delayed, but no less objective, as a result of the broadening of the commodity exchange and growth of mercantile bourgeoisie. In the case of the Romanian Principalities, the interdependence stimulated the process, but did not trigger it.

But Lucretiu Patrascanu also departs from the second idea of the neoserfdom theory, the one that contested the capitalist character of agricultural relations, condering them as being neoserfist, in other words a superposition of capitalist and serfist elements, combining ".... from serfdom the sweat benefit of coerced labor.... without the disadvantage of any obligation or servitude in relation to it and from the capitalist regime, the absolute freedom of exploitation of work, without bearing the disadvantage of free work." [16] The study of the problem on the historical type of the interwar Romanian economy and society as a whole involves the second major direction of research in Patrascanu's writings. This direction especially is reflected in the book "Basic Problems of Romania" and an important chapter in the book "Under Three Dictatorships."

The resolution of the above-mentioned problem involved not only criticism of Gherea's theory, which continued to have supporters during the interwar period as well, but also the scientific refutation of the theory on the peasant state, which placed the Romanian economy among semicapitalist economies.

The capitalist development of the Romanian economy, although delayed, industrial production which began to expand only at the end of the eighth decade of the past century, gradually also included the sphere of agricultural relations. The process is visible even after the 1907 revolt, which marks ".... a progress of capitalist elements in Romanian agriculture," [17] but expands after the unified national state is constituted.

In elucidating the problem under study Patrascanu makes a well-founded distinction between the indicators that point out the level of development of a capitalist economy and the criteria for defining its historical type, which result from the articulation of the specific ingredients of the capitalist relations of production. The detailed analysis of the Romanian industry during the interwar period leads him to conclude that, although it did not rank among the developed economies, unequivocally it was capitalist, inclusively involving forms characteristic of financial, monopolistic capital. "If there cannot be a matter of identity between the Romanian economy, considered in its entirety, and the economies of the imperialist countries proper, the industrial economy, in its key sectors, categorically moves along the line and within the framework of the capitalist relations of production, experiencing all the forms of life which are characteristic of capitalism." [18] The formulation clearly specifies the overall capitalist development of the Romanian industrial economy and its typical distinction from the advanced capitalist economies.

Special emphasis is placed on two of the characteristics of interwar industrialization in Romania, of the establishment of the heavy industry branches: that involving the rapid establishment of the domination of financial capital and that involving the active intervention of the state. "However, the transformation of the state from mere buyer into direct financer of big industry represents a new development, even if certain foreign examples served as encouragement to the Romanian rulers. Along this road the Romanian state advanced fully, specifically after 1933." [19] The idea reappears in "Under Three Dictatorships," stating that "a whole number of metallurgical, chemical, and mining enterprises, then enterprises for the production of building materials -- partly also for textiles, tied in with equipping the army -- were set up.... or expanded by the direct intervention of the state." [20]

This by no means excluded the fact that, concurrently with the concentration and centralization of capital, with the domination of financial capital, the greatest number of enterprises registered in the 1930 census had an artisan character. Of course, the strength of large capitalist enterprises was prevalent in the operation of the economy in those days.

Romanian agriculture, during the same historical period, was characterized by the prevalence of capitalist relations, which, however, intertwined with significant survivals of serfist exploitation. "Capitalism has penetrated -- and has deeply penetrated -- the agricultural sector of the Romanian economy... The coexistence in the agricultural sector of two forms of production, belonging to different historical eras, provides the specific feature that distinguishes the Romanian economy from the economies of Western capitalist countries. The persistence of the feudal-serfist remnants, although profound, does not, however, withdraw Romanian agriculture from the context of the country's overall evolution -- an evolution that bears the imprint of capitalism." [21]

The industrial economy and the agricultural economy provided the ground for the manifestation of a system of economic and social contradictions: the accumulation of industrial capital was based on the maintenance of the purchasing power of the masses within small limits, on the lead of the development of productive forces over the consumption potential of exploited social classes and categories; agriculture was extensive and the superposition of varied forms of exploitation operated as a factor of reducing the market, of impeding economic growth in general; by its intervention in the economy, the state was the tool of dual exploitation, direct and through the medium of the budget; all this generated major hotbeds of social discontent and tension.

A characteristic of the class relations in Romania which is emphasized in Patrascanu's analysis involves the great role of the town petty bourgeoisie in the overall working population, as a result of the large number of small and artisan enterprises. "In the current structure of Romania, the petty bourgeoisie undoubtedly is the prevalent numerical element. The petty bourgeoisie towers over all the other social categories; it is the great source, the immense human fount which continuously supplies all the other social

classes and segments.... The fact that this propelling role is primarily assigned to the rural petty bourgeoisie and only secondly to the town petty bourgeoisie does by no means alter the role which petty bourgeoisie, in its entirety, plays in our country." [22]

In the fourth decade, the Romanian society is faced with many social contradictions and conflicts that resulted from its specific capitalist evolution, the effects of the 1929-1933 economic crisis, the incidence of processes which made their way in the sphere of international relations and focused on promoting the aggressiveness and expansiveness of the fascist states. The leading group of the ruling classes, concentrated around the monarchy, built its policy of response in the situation that had arisen on two major factors: a. Support of political-ideological fascist trends; b. Orientation toward annihilation of the already limited and shallow role of parliamentary institutions. Because of the combination of these factors and the powerlessness of the left-wing forces to thwart this policy, the fascist regime was established.

The analysis of the political relationships and processes that resulted in the imposition of fascism in our country involves the third major direction of the developing investigation conducted by Patrascanu in his sociological tetralogy. The book "Under Three Dictatorships" is principally devoted to this direction. The book distinctively has a special uniqueness, in the context of the other writings of the author which we are surveying. It involves what could be termed as "warm-studying", that is in their live unfolding, the sociopolitical processes, the attitudes of the social groups and political parties. It is a book that records the remarks and explanations of a witness but also an active participant in the events which shaped the course of history, of a witness who confirmed his hypotheses in the subsequent correlation of the class forces, in the political effects of the evolution of this correlation. That is why we cannot help comparing, in this respect, Patrascanu's book "Under Three Dictatorships" with K. Marx' "18 November of Ludovic Bonaparte."

The historical fact from which Lucretiu Patrascanu proceeds in building his book "Under Three Dictatorships" is that, in the context of heightened discontent of the ruled social classes and categories, of the radicalization of some of their segments, the ruling classes deliberately encouraged, with the direct complicity of the state apparatus, the establishment and branching out of the main fascist organization in Romania, the Iron Guard, the iron-guardist movement. Hence, the aim was to establish a diversionist tool, with the purpose of manipulating the economic and social discontent into a reactionary direction, at the antipode of the actual interests of the discontented social groups. The impact of the Iron Guard in specific sections of the population, in the fourth decade and the consequences and effects involved derived from three major sources.

The first source involved the fact that the iron-guardist ideology incorporated particularly resonant spiritual ingredients, such as exacerbated irrationalism, religious mysticism, the background of superstitions and primitivism that is characteristic of the most retrograde sections of the population; the iron-guardist ideology was not simply a copy of Hitler's ideology. Patrascanu exposes the fallacy of the idea that "the organizations of

the extreme right wing in Romania were nothing else than mere copies of the similar formations in Central Europe" further specifying that "combining political propaganda with exploitation of the religious mysticism of the peasantry, subordinating religion to political aims and blending it into the program of the Iron Guard undoubtedly were the characteristic and specific features of the fascist movement in Romania." [23]

Nae Ionescu, by his attacks against rationalism, by his praise of mysticism, was one of the chief proponents who were instrumental in shaping the iron-guardist ideology. He wrote: ".... What we only do is liquidate rationalism.... We liquidate it: in philosophy by the new anti-intellectual trends...., in politics by placing the parliamentary and democratic regime under observation...." The so-called mystical revolution advocated by Nae Ionescu was supposed to be based on the doctrine "I believe, even though it is absurd; I believe, precisely because it is absurd," and was presented as ".... a necessity imposed organically by the tradition and structure of our race." [24]

The social basis which nurtured the iron-guardist influence, representing its second source, was mainly comprised of groups of town petty bourgeoisie, a part of the rich peasantry, students and other intellectual exponents of these sections, ruined elements of the big landlord class, and from various marginal subgroups of the "lumpenproletariat." The discontents of the petty bourgeoisie were manipulated in the wrong direction because of its gravitation in the economic orbit of the bourgeoisie and because of a conservative tendency, aspirations for rapid enrichment by any means, and resentments and feelings of envy which are characteristic of it. "The antisemitic propaganda, conducted unscrupulously.... by all the agitators of the extreme right wing, steering in the wrong direction the sentiments of hatred, the resentments and greeds of this petty bourgeoisie only nurtured them day by day and hour by hour. The unscrupulousness, ill-will and ignorance equally contributed to doctor reality and turn the social issue, especially of the petty bourgeoisie, into a racial issue." [25]

It must be pointed out that L. Patrascanu, along with A. Gramsci, is one of the few Marxist thinkers of that period who spotlighted the role of the petty bourgeoisie in fostering the fascist trends, in shaping their structure, differing, in this respect aptly, from the prevailing views in the Third International.

In the third place, the influence of the iron-guardist movement was due to the clash between the main parties of the ruling classes, the Liberal Party and the National-Peasant Party, the alliance concluded by Iuliu Maniu and Gheorghe Bratianu with the Iron Guard in the 1937 elections, aiming at defeating the Liberal Party and dislocating it from the exercise of state power. This electoral pact enabled the iron-guardist movement ".... to come to the election with the political endorsement of the greatest opposition party.... All the past of crimes and assassinations of Codreanu and of the entire movement suddenly found itself free from any blame. " [26] Its nefarious effect involved the growing prestige of iron-guardists among the peasantry. With good reason Patrascanu points out that the election pact

opened up the path to the establishment of the royal dictatorship and through it, of the iron-guardist dictatorship.

Unfortunately, the division of the working class, of the democratic and anti-fascist forces represented a reserve for the ruling circles that were preparing the imposition of a right-wing alternative. In this situation, in Patrascanu's view voiced in "Under Three Dictatorships," neither the approach of the Romanian Communist Party was adequate; instead of supporting the electoral list of the Social-Democratic Party which would have meant a unified riposte of the proletariat to the fascist danger, the communist party decided to vote for the candidates of the National-Peasant Party. In this manner, it is pointed out that without the lucid detachment from the tensions accumulated, for one or another reason, between the parties of the working class, without detachment from prejudice the revolutionary party may commit serious errors. Patrascanu's conclusion undoubtedly has an overall value and has in our days also been confirmed by the evolution of events in some advanced capitalist countries.

In the context of the discredit of the liberal rule (Tatarescu), of the crystallization of discontents and tensions among the working class, peasantry and town petty bourgeoisie, of the emergence of the risk of inability in their diversionist manipulation or their control by a Peasant Party rule, the political circles rallied around the monarchy established the royal dictatorship.

But the royal dictatorship, far from tapering the contradictions and attenuating the hotbeds of social tension, exacerbated them. This happened at the point of the visible bankruptcy of the foreign policy of the ruling circles.

The crisis of the royal dictatorship did not result in the democratic change in the regime but, conversely, led, on 6 September 1940, to the imposition of the fascist dictatorship. Patrascanu stated: "In other words, quite the reverse from the appraoch that was to be expected or was expected by the masses that came to the streets, ready to impose a government of the opposition!" [27] Further, he specifies: "The problem that was posed to those who acted behind the scenes in Romanian politics was the following: these agitations must either be suppressed in the cradle and before their acquiring a strong social and national content or deviated in terms of their aim" [28] The fear in face of the danger involving the shaping of an extensive social movement, with renewing opening, generated the preference of the ruling classes, of their political circles for replacing the royal dictatorship with a fascist dictatorship. By accepting that power be taken over by the iron-guardists "the bourgeois opposition surrendered to the staunchest enemies of democracy and of nationhood...." [29]

Moreover, the fact must be added that in the context of the 1940 summer, the interest of the ruling factions of the exploiting classes for imposing a fascist regime -- as a means of blocking the overflow to the left of social and national protests -- met with the interest of Hitler Germany for holding through this kind of regime a control over Romania. In order to safeguard

their positions from any risk, the ruling classes agreed to partly relinquish some of the attributes of exercising state power, handing them over to their most reactionary, antidemocratic and terrorist ringleaders, who enjoyed confidence and protection from the fully expanding Hitler Germany, because they operated as its tool.

Patrascanu's book points out, by a great wealth of arguments, that the replacement of the iron-guardist dictatorship with the military-fascist dictatorship in January 1941 is the result of the option of the ruling classes and of Hitler Germany for the form of fascist regime that was capable of most appropriately satisfying their interests in the given period. Some of the means of iron-guardist government, by their negative impact on the economy, on maintenance of order, aroused the disapproval of the major groups of ruling classes and the factors of their political apparatus. Hitler Germany, also, pursued the consolidation of the authority of the fascist regime, as a tool for annihilating any domestic opposition, of stepping up exploitation of the economic availabilities of the country and of its military potential. "With the final establishment of the German armies in Romania and the transfer of the government and state apparatus under its effective control, the iron-guardist movement no longer represented at that point a special importance for Hitler's plans. The movement ceased to be indispensable.... The manner in which public life unfolded under the iron-guardist rule was not convenient either to the occupant army or to Hitler." [30] Therefore, in the conflict between Antonescu and the iron-guardists, Hitler Germany supported the former and the political forces grouped behind him. This was due to the fact that the Antonescu dictatorship had a military-fascist character and Hitler Germany through it was able to achieve its own aims.

Shattering the attempt at creating a fallacious myth around Antonescu, L. Patrascanu states that at the beginning he ".... identified with the iron-guardist movement because only through it was it possible for him to achieve his great ambitions," but later he became hostile to it because "as one coming from the higher officer ranks, he represented in those days the bourgeoisie and not those sections that found their organized expression in the "Guard." This by no means minimizes his direct responsibility for the iron-guardist rule, with its array of plunders, crimes, and banditry." [31]

This idea is all the more valid because the military-fascist dictatorship fully furthered the ideology and policy of the iron-guardist dictatorship, in both domestic and foreign areas. The place of the iron-guardist organization is taken in the apparatus of state power by the fascist and reactionary ringleaders of the army and political bureaucracy. Pointing out that ".... no kind of doubt exists in terms of the designation and character of the third dictatorship, as there can be no doubt" -- as to the fact that it was a fascist military dictatorship -- L. Patrascanu emphasizes that "rallying around the military dictatorship, soon after its establishment, also were all the reactionary groupings and elements that did not belong to the bourgeoisie proper. In light of the structural character and the tendencies of the new regime, this phenomenon seems natural." [32]

The fascist character of the Antonescu dictatorship -- and not the character of any right-wing regime -- results from the fact that it was based on the visible prevalence of the mechanism of antiworker and antidemocratic repressive violence, the materialization in political and social action of the fascist, aggressive xenophobic and racist, expansionist ideology, the manipulation and corruption of the segments of petty bourgeoisie. Precisely therefore, the consideration of such a regime as being only a right-wing alternative, because within its framework a fascist party was not involved in exercising power, ignores the total continuity between the Antonescu dictatorship and the iron-guardist dictatorship, the fact that the former actually also translated the iron-guardist ideology and was based on political and social elements that were characteristic of fascism.

Patrascanu's analysis on the causes of the establishment of fascist dictatorships in Romania and their historical particularities categorically denies the idea of the fatalistic, inexorable character of their imposition. This brings to the fore a problem of philosophy of history, one on which there was not enough pondering: the radical difference between the determinism of history and fatalism.

No history of any society has a predestined course. It results from its economic determinism, from the relation of the class forces, from the conflicts of interests between them, from their political and ideological physiognomy. The action of the social classes and categories creates in one or another period the history of regimes, the curve of their development and that is why there is a responsibility of the classes in relation to the country's history in which they are involved, to their own reaction, and the ruling circles cannot avoid it either during its unfolding or in the future. Social determinism, as it was understood by the founders of Marxism and as it is revealed by Patrascanu in his book does not exclude but involves the responsibility of the social forces for the course of the historical process and its changes. We feel that this is the most profound philosophical conclusion of the book "Under Three Dictatorships."

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[Text] Patrascanu's survey of the Romanian society is completed with the fourth direction, that on the prevailing philosophical trends during the interwar period, with direct effects on the political processes. It was materialized in the book "Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy."

There still are certain reticences regarding this book. Some feel that it allegedly is tributary to a dogmatic, narrow vision in assessing the interwar philosophy. However, this opinion betrays failure to understand the real issues of the book, its profoundly historical dimension, the only one that spotlights its author's actual intention, that of focusing mainly on the social currents and trends in Romanian philosophy, which constituted an ideological tool in the political confrontations of the period. True, Patrascanu's book contains some brief assessments on facets of European philosophical trends and profiles of some Romanian philosophers (M. Florian or

D. D. Roșca), but its real significance is quite different. The book was written in the initial stage of the revolutionary process that began in Romania after 23 August 1944 and tended to be an intervention in the struggle of ideas that accompanied the sociopolitical clashes, the revolution in motion. It aimed at being not an exhaustive book on Romanian philosophy and the value of its various writings but specifically a retort given to those doctrines that established and circulated the reactionary values of extreme right-wing, fascist political trends that continued to make their influence felt in the new historical stage.

In the introduction to the book, Patrascanu states that beginning in the third decade taking shape in Romania also were ".... trends with sufficiently profound repercussion in the world of youth. These attempts cannot be ignored because they impose themselves as a reality; and they must not be treated lightly because this would be dangerous. This also is the gist of the matter that interests us." Hence, from the outset the direction of research is enlightened: consequently, not toward professoral philosophy, which, no matter how important it was, involved a limited social reverberation, but toward the doctrines that represented, in A. Gramsci's words, "organic ideologies" of some sociopolitical groups. The author himself asserts it: "In studying the issues and philosophical trends with which we deal in the pages of this book, we proceeded from the influence that philosophy might exert in the Romanian social developments and assessed the entire philosophical production from this angle and in light of such a role. Hence, our criteria will be less of a philosophical nature, but rather ideological-political."

Therefore the analysis focuses not on discussing the flimsiness or soundness of the arguments in one or another source of idealist philosophy. Patrascanu goes on to say: "In other words, deliberately we avoided the critical point of view, placed inside their philosophical outlook, and only dwelt on the final conclusions, regarding them as the only ones that are interesting for the thesis developed in the following pages." This because, it is stated in the same context, ".... we should not forget that in our country, more than in other countries, philosophical trends intertwined with political postures, and some of the existing philosophical schools offered ideological points of support, specifically, to the right-wing movements." And a final statement that clearly spotlights the book's finality in the period and, we would add, in the future: "However, it is not possible to do thorough work in order to eliminate all the residue of the fascist and Nazi ideology and mentality, just as it is not possible to seriously begin a clarification in the area of ideas without precisely touching on the basis questions of Romanian philosophy." [33]

The philosophical basis of the extreme right-wing, fascist trends in Romania and the possibility of the longer persistence of such ideas, even after the disappearance of the political trends, caused Patrascanu to write his book in its distinctive outlook, a tool of ideological criticism of these ideas. Somehow, in light of the relative independence of the ideas of philosophy and of idealist metaphysics specifically, it also aimed at reminding the

following generations of the political danger spelled by some of these ideas with a specific hue. It must be emphasized that even in the limited pages there also is a debate on the theoretical value of such philosophical doctrines, in addition to their ideological orientation and the significance of the class interests which they metamorphose.

The chief merit of the book which we are reviewing involves the argumentation and extensive comment on the idea that idealist metaphysics, imbued with irrationalism enunciated directly or indirectly, enveloped in a metaphoric language, which culminated in the hypostasis of orthodoxist, orientalist or simply transcendentalist mysticism, was, in spite of all the diversity of the shades characteristic of one or another exponent, the philosophy of groups and of a society in a crisis, that looked for a stabilization in an antidemocratic, fascizating policy. The above correlation is, in certain limits, determined, not depending on the subjective interpretation of one or another author, even though most of the exponents of this ramified philosophy asserted it directly and frenetically.

True, the postulation, in full 20th century, of an extraobjective existence (being) dominated by incognoscible and irrational powers, a so-called "world of mystery," the maintenance of incapacity of rational knowledge, the apology of revelation, as a possibility of an alleged irrational, mystical and trancendental knowledge, allegedly superior to rational knowledge, only means disregarding, up to annihilating, human creativity. This creativity is based on human capacity for rational knowledge of the surrounding world and of practical transformation of this world. With the aid of reason -- and only of reason -- of its varied structures and methods it is possible to acquire knowledge of the natural and social objectives and phenomena, and on its basis it is possible to develop their transformation in compliance with the human needs and interests in an historical period. The humanization of society and man in the course of history is determined by the development of this process.

Therefore, reason is a fundamental feature of authentic humanist theories because it expresses an objective determination of human progress, of human development in all circumstances. The fact that in the more distant or more recent history reason was more than once trampled is not an invalidation of the above idea but points out that often not all the conditions for its observance and triumph were or have yet been created.

We do not deny that many people find a spiritual balance by combining rational knowledge with irrational spiritual components, but this balance is one based on abdication from full realization of man's fate. The negation of human rationality or subordination of rationality to one or another kind of irrationality, regardless of what one might believe or the language in asserting the idea leads to dehumanization, to the stimulation of diversities of alienating consequences of history.

That is why the calls to the superiority of the irrational forces, to "living" as a method of philosophical or mystical revelation, to the discovery of

the "authentic being," of the "itself" must not mislead as to their actual meaning. We must emphasize that it is to Patrascanu's credit that he very vigorously drew attention to the chimerical values concealed in these calls, generators of mirages in the misinformed, which also occurred even when the book was written and published.

Nae Ionescu's texts are very illustrative in this respect because they interlace the attack against reason and the extolling of mysticism with the negation of the values of democracy and of parliamentarism. He regarded as a "veritable" spiritual revolution processes such as the rebirth of metaphysics, the divesting of science of its function "of interpreter and developer of life," "the crisis of Cartesian rationalism," religious and mystical revival, "the crisis of democracy and parliamentarism, which nobody can deny." [34]

We only mention a few remarkably graphic passages from Nae Ionescu's "Metaphysics," an exalting apology of irrationalism and mysticism as so-called methods for penetrating the "metaphysical mystery." Hence, it is claimed that a characteristic of spirituality in Eastern Europe, inclusivey of the national awareness of the Romanian people, allegedly is passive contemplation, lack of creativity and inertia, irrationality, allegedly which makes it the place for preserving metaphysics. ".... To us the universe is an existence which we live; to those in the West, the universe is an existence which they know.... in a way the Westerns master the universe; they know it, we do not know it, we endure it.... we are under its influence.... It would be impossible for someone in the Romanian land, in all Eastern Europe or in Asia to write the second part of Faust.... Because in our area the possibility to master does not exist, the possibility to master the universe does not fit into our spiritual structure.... it is not conceptual knowledge that is the specific form of knowledge and of development of existence, so that it is not science that is the specific tool of human activity." The plea winds up with the conclusion ".... that the actual place of metaphysical speculation is not the West, but the East." [35] The text does not need any comment, because the call that pervades it is clear, a call to inertia and passivity, to abandoning scientific knowledge as the tool for transforming the world, the praise to backwardness and spiritual primitivism. In the lines quoted and in many other passages the idea recurs that these are the attributes of Romanian national awareness, that they ought to be preserved in the name of "spiritual authenticity," of "traditionalism."

To Nae Ionescu ".... mysticism does not deal with obscure things because it is mystical but because it is a method of metaphysics, because even the rational methods in metaphysics also deal with obscure things.... The realm of mystery is open to all metaphysical activity, regardless of the method which we use." [36] These are lines which are characteristic of speculative metaphysics, which sees its object in an extrareal existence (being).

Here we interrupt the quotations from N. Ionescu, that could continue in the same vein, in order to admit that Mircea Eliade was totally right in stating in the postface to "The Wind Rose" which he edited: "All that was debated by the "young generation" (the term designates the segment of youth under the

influence of the extreme right wing -- R. F.) in those days -- "experience," "adventure," "orthodoxy," "authenticity," "living" -- stems from the ideas of professor Nae Ionescu." [37] Moreover, this is what Patrascanu details in his book, that also points out that irrationalist metaphysics was, by no means, Romanian, no matter how much was set forth by "traditionalism" or the alleged preservation of "ethnic spiritual authenticity," but mirrored the disorientation and incertitude in face of the historical process and its innovating trend, of the exponents of the bourgeois ideology.

"Traditionalism" as disregard of the fundamentally historical dimension of tradition, that is of the values accumulated, as its absolutizing apology, inclusive of its obscurantist or simply anachronistic components, and concealment of its Promethean, democratic and revolutionary values also was an artificial representation of speculative metaphysics geared to legitimize refusal and opposition to the demands of transformation of history.

Explaining the social conditioning and the cultural climate that facilitated the resonance of the trends of irrationalist and mystical metaphysics, Patrascanu states: "The nebulosity of mystical thinking, the inability to understand the phenomenon that they experienced -- in the economic and social area -- in face of the collapse of a world to which they were tied and from whose benefits they lived, the attempt to eliminate or at least transfer to the realm of religious speculation the turmoil related to futile effort (in face of problems which could not be resolved by old methods and by old approaches), the lack of historical horizon and prospect as to the morrow -- all this facilitated the penetration and cultivation of mysticism in our country.... Just as the Iron Guard movement could only be orthodox and was founded on the Romanian peasantry's background of superstition, the intellectuals, who viewed their paths to the future as closed, needed to cultivate mysticism, the food of incapable and helpless people." [38]

An indirect confirmation of Patrascanu's view can be found in the first volume of Mircea Eliade's memoirs, issued this year. Touching on the fact that World War I generated a crisis of the values of rationalism, of the idea of progress, dominant in European culture, Mircea Eliade wrote: "Irrationalism that made war possible and even fostered it penetrated the spiritual and cultural life of the West, as indicated by the rehabilitation of religious experience...., the growing interest for pseudospiritualities and other oriental gnoses, such as theosophy, neo-Buddhism, Tagore, and so forth, the fad of surrealism and psychoanalysis. The crisis that swept the West was to me the proof that the values of of the war generation no longer were in favor. It was up to us, from the "young generation," to find new reasons for being." These "reasons" were discovered in orthodoxy, which "was liable to serve as a basis for an outlook of the world and life, and if this was accomplished it was a matter of a totally new phenomenon in the history of modern Romanian culture." [39]

One of the valuable conclusions from Petrascanu's book is that any philosophical doctrine has ideological and political ramifications and reflects, in one or another form, specifically in certain ideas and values, class

interests and attitudes. Their adequate utilization cannot be made without taking this fact into account.

The second basic contribution of the book "Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy" involves the propounding of some ideas and values of the Marxist philosophy, done in a manner different from that in Stalin's writing "On Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism," which had begun to be prevalent in treating Marxist problems. Hence, it is noteworthy to point out the inetrpretation of dialectical materialism as a science and as a philosophy: "We view it as a science because it contains the most general laws, pertaining to the totality of reality, it offers us the explanation of the factors that make it accessible to our comprehension, and provides us with an analysis of the causes interlaced with an outlook of the world. From the philosophical standpoint, dialectical materialism represents an outlook of the world and it equally is the assertion not to accept the world in its current form." [40] In contradistinction to the scientist-summary understanding of philosophy, Patrascanu's nondogmatic idea dwells on the importance of development of philosophical and ethical values, of innovating and progressive attitudes, as components of Marxism.

The importance attached to the philosophical debate of discoveries in modern physics, the philosophical utilization of Einstein's theory, even if a few hasty notes may be found on this plane, were new developments for the Marxist thinking during that period.

Moreover, the conclusion on the future role of philosophy appears to us very timely. Commenting on Engels' formulation on outgrowing philosophy once it has a consistently scientific basis, Patrascanu wrote: "Outgrowing philosophy in terms of form does not mean giving up the problems arisen from man's contact with the forces of Nature or from the complexity of the life of the individual and of society, just as it does not mean ignoring all the positive accomplishments of the human spirit along the centuries. However, it means integrating these problems into a unified concept, that would open new prospects, new vistas, to man. The creation of a new concept and of a new outlook of the world -- tied to an unadulterated interpetation of the past -- this is the content of philosophy which not only remains valid but, moreover, ought to be enhanced and enriched. Man needs certitude. He must obtain it through both science and philosophy. The new philosophical concept will no longer be tied to the forces of the unknown, suppressed by mysticism and superstition, by obscurantism." [41]

Patrascanu's tetralogy involves one more direction of study, which, even though it is on a lesser scale, has special significance: exploring the development of Romanian society. It is specifically treated in the final chapter of the book "Basic Problems of Romania," which deals with the major tasks of Romania's socioeconomic transformation in that period, their primary bourgeois-democratic character, facets of the working class strategy for completion of these tasks and of development of the process toward socialism.

Outstanding are two ideas from Patrascanu's concept on the strategy of the revolutionary process, both resulting from the spotlighting of the historical characteristics of the Romanian society. The first idea focuses on the need for the working class' possessing hegemony in the process of the radical changes which had begun, whose realization Patrascanu justifiedly tied to two central factors: a. Maintenance of the class independence of the proletariat on the basis of a specific principled policy; and b. Establishment of the ".... closest possible and most permanent contact with all the nonproletarian popular segments, with the broadest possible rural and town masses." In the same context he urged: "Not by ignoring what separates the petty bourgeoisie from the proletariat, but by accenting what brings it close to the working class in its attitude of opposition to the big monopolistic capital, to the big finance's forms of monopolization and subjugation, in the ensuring of a democratic regime, through elimination and destruction of all the remnants of dictatorial regimes, it must and it can be won over to the common struggle." [42]

Patrascanu's second idea which we wish to point out involves the fact that socialism must be the result of the social consensus, suggestively expressed in the words that it "is supposed not to be imposed to the people's masses but accepted by the masses." The idea is developed in the underlining that a premise of the process involves ".... creation of all the conditions for the masses, summoned to active political and social life, to have a decisive say on their own destiny." [43]

At the close of this brief review of the major planes of L. Patrascanu's work, one may say that by it Marxist thinking in our country demonstrated, in the first half of the century, its capacity to explore the genesis and characteristics of the Romanian society, its central issues and their directions of development. It constitutes a multilateral answer given to a society at a radical turn of its history, an answer that did not limit itself to repeat the general theses of Marxism, but, based on its methodology and concepts, in the spirit of Marxism, elucidated the national historical traits of the Romanian society.

One may note a few determining elements of L. Patrascanu's Marxist thinking. One, which we mentioned at the beginning of this review, is the comprehension of social determinism as a global factor, that results from the intersection of economic determinism with sociopolitical and cultural-ideological determinism, as a determinism whose active exponents are the social classes and categories, their action and reaction, with their confrontations generating the course and zigzags of the historical process. Patrascanu equally investigates the historical level and curve of the development of the economy, of the classes, of their political institutions, but also the physiognomy of the ideological trends characteristic of the various social groups. Upon this basis he grasps and follows the trajectory of the action of classes, their simmosities, and develops the overall picture of the stage in the development of society, its central issues and the alternatives of their resolution.

From here results the characteristic of Patrascanu's thinking of being deterministic, but profoundly antimechanistic and antipositivist, clearly delimited from any fatalism, from the idea of a predestined direction of history.

The second feature of Patrascanu's thinking is the consistently historist interpretation of the social phenomena, whether it is a matter of studying a society in its entirety, or processes and relations involved. The outcome of an historical development, all the social phenomena, from the economic ones to the spiritual ones, cannot be actually deciphered without discovering their generating sources, the specific of their evolution. Precisely because the phenomena of a society always bear the imprint of its history Patrascanu rejects all the attempts at fixing the "authenticity of the Romanian society" in immutable attributes, eternally identical with themselves, ones that ought never to be changed.

Therefore, the sociopolitical action of the working class, in order for it to be fruitful -- is the conclusion that frequently emanates from the pages of the writings reviewed -- must take into account the historical characteristics of each society in order to determine its change in the direction of socialism; this all the more so because the consequences of these traits persist over a very long period of time. The historist character of Patrascanu's interpretation of the Romanian phenomenon hence determined the profoundly national dimension of his Marxist thinking.

Another feature of Patrascanu's thinking is its consistent and overall democratism. This is present in the utilization of the lode of the Romanian people's democratic and revolutionary tradition in its constant opposition to obscurantist traditionalism, in the argumented criticism of the limits of the democracy represented by the ruling classes in the past, in revealing the real sources of all the forms of nationalism and antisemitism promoted by them, their harmfulness and danger, in intransigently and unequivocally rejecting all the ideological and political values of the right-wing and fascist trends, in firmly upholding the application of and respect for the democratic values in the process of revolutionary transformation.

A final feature of Patrascanu's thinking which we wish to emphasize is that of ethical responsibility for scientific knowledge, for the spirit of authentic Marxism which pervades his work. It is visible in nonacceptance of alteration of the results of investigation by situational and ephemeral influences, by interpretations and theses which one tried to impose in the name of "authority."

Received with great interest on their appearance, generating a lively debate and contributing to the enlightenment of the party policy, to the enhancement of its social reverberation, L. Patrascanu's writings still demonstrate their theoretical-scientific and political value. The passage of time bears out the solidity of the central ideas, their role as a tool in establishing the new awareness of the Romanian society.

if by the spirituality of a people one means the totality of the cultural works that create its theoretical, axiological and sensitive awareness, in a given historical period, L. Patrascanu's work is a major component of the spiritual physiognomy of the modern Romanian nation. We may state that in the constitution and development of its intrinsic awareness it fulfills a role that is comparable to that of the 1848 revolutionary thinking in the genesis of the national awareness of the Romanian people in the past century.

FOOTNOTES

1. I. Biberi, "Lumea de Miine" [The World of Tomorrow], Forum, Bucharest, 1945, p 80.

2. L. Patrascanu, "Un Veac de Framintari Sociale, 1821-1907" [A Century of Social Ferment, 1821-1907], Ed. Cartea Rusa, Bucharest, 1945, pp 36, 37.

3. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Volume III, Part II, ESPLP, 1955, pp 745, 748, 750.

4. M. Dobb - P. M. Sweezy, "Du Feodalisme au Capitalisme: Problemes de la Transition" [From Feudalism to Capitalism: Problems of Transition], Maspero, Paris, 1977, p 69.

5. L. Patrascanu, "A Century of Social Ferment", pp 19-20.

6. Ibidem, p 55.

7. Ibidem, p 72.

8. Ibidem, p 57.

9. Ibidem, p 160.

10. Ibidem, p 173.

11. Ibidem, p 174.

12. L. Patrascanu, "Problemele de Baza ale Romaniei" [Basic Problems of Romania], revised Third Edition, Editura de stat, Bucharest, 1946, p 273.

13. L. Patrascanu, "A Century of Social Ferment," p 111.

14. Ibidem, p 110.

15. C. D. Gherea, "Opere Complete" [Complete Works], Volume 4, Editura Politica, 1977, pp 33, 39-40.

16. Ibidem, p 82.

17. L. Patrascanu, "Course of Political Economy, lithographed, 1947, p 207.

18. L. Patrascanu, "Basic Problems of Romania," p 64.

19. Ibidem, p 37.

20. L. Patrascanu, "Sub Trei Dictaturi" [Under Three Dictatorships], Forum, Bucharest, 1946, p 15.

21. L. Patrascanu, "Basic Problems of Romania," pp 100, 101.

22. Ibidem, pp 139-140.

23. L. Patrascanu, "Under Three Dictatorships," pp 37, 44.

24. N. Ionescu, "Roza Vinturilor" [Wind Rose], Cultura Nationala, Bucharest, 1937, pp 24, 27, 36.

25. L. Patrascanu, "Under Three Dictatorships," p 197.

26. Ibidem, p 91.

27. Ibidem, p 170.

28. Ibidem, p 177.

29. Ibidem, p 169.

30. Ibidem, pp 239-240.

31. Ibidem, p 239.

32. Ibidem, pp 247, 255-256.

33. L. Patrascanu, "Curente si Tendinte in Filozofia Romaneasca" [Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy], SOCEC, Bucharest, 1946, pp 5, 8, 8-9.

34. N. Ionescu, "Wind Rose," pp 257, 258.

35. N. Ionescu, "Metafizica" [Metaphysics], Imprimeria Nationala, Bucharest, 1942, pp 84, 85, 86.

36. Ibidem, p 124.

37. N. Ionescu, "Wind Rose," p 431.

38. L. Patrascanu, "Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy," pp 124, 125.

39. M. Eliade, "Les Promesses de L'Equinoxe" [The Promises of the Equinox], Gallimard, Paris, 1980, pp 190, 191.

40. L. Patrascanu, "Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy," p 187.

41. Ibidem, pp 217-218.

42. L. Patrascanu, "Basic Problems of Romania," pp 324, 305.

43. Ibidem, pp 294, 295.

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SZEKLER ASSEMBLY OF 1505 DISCUSSED BY ROMANIANS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 80 pp 34-36

/Article by Lajos Demeny: "The Szekler Assembly of 1505 As a High Point in the Romanian Peasants' Antifeudal Struggle"/

/Text/ It is a well-known fact that the peasants were the most important force for social progress in Romania for a long time, and that the struggle of the peasants and the masses against oppression was the fundamental factor for all social reforms and the Romanian people's advance on the path of socioeconomic progress and national liberation. As it says in the RCP Program, "The peasants emphatically asserted themselves as a revolutionary social class in countless uprisings against feudal domination."

It is a characteristic feature of Romanian history that even in the period of developed feudalism there was a free and strong peasantry which, alongside the dependent peasantry, townsmen and other popular forces, played an important part in the social struggles and especially in those for the nation's defense against foreign expansion. Meanwhile the close union of all the exploited and oppressed regardless of ethic origin (Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs et al.) was one of the decisive factors in the antifeudal and defensive struggles in Transylvania of the feudal period.

Actually it is enough to glance even briefly at the main points in the great peasant uprisings to see that the unity of the oppressed and subjugated is a decisive permanent feature of our common history. The peasants' camp at Bobilna in 1437 bore the significant name of universitas rusticorum hungarorum et valachorum huius partis Transilvaniae (community of Hungarian and Romanian peasants in these parts of Transylvania. It fought fierce battles against the nobles' army for almost a year and won celebrated victories. These peasant troops were led by capable commanders like Antal Nagy Budai, Mihai Valahul of Floresti, Stephanus Hencs of Jimbru and other peasants, as well as townsmen, workers in the salt mines, rural priests and petty nobles of Romanian, Hungarian, German or other ethnic origin. Their standard bearer, who bore the title of vexillifer universitatis regnicolorum hungarorum et valachorum (standard bearer of the army of Hungarian and Romanian inhabitants of the kingdom) was a native of Voivodeni village named Pal Nagy, or Paul the Great, and the Latin name magnus actually described his outstanding role in leading the rebel army. The strength of the peasants' unity is also apparent to us from the fact that it was opposed by the famous "fraternal union" of wealthy German and Szekler nobles and leaders which was formed in 1437 and was to defeat the united force of the rebellious Romanian, Hungarian and German peasants.

It is also well known that the united struggle of those who rose against oppression and feudal exploitation was a distinguishing characteristic of the great peasant war of 1514 led by the Szekler Gheorghe Doja (Gyorgy Dozsa). When the war reached Transylvania, the rebel troops were joined alike by Romanian and Hungarian peasants, townsmen and workers in the mines and salt mines, and the oppressed population in cities and towns.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the antifeudal uprisings and social rebellions in Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia and also in the whole eastern and southeastern European area were dominated by the free peasant forces, which started the struggle and formed the bulk of the rebel troops. Threatened with enslavement, the free peasant strata rose to the defense of their ancestral freedoms and for a better life. These uprisings included the Szekler rebellion in the second half of the 16th century and the great popular uprising of 1655 in Wallachia, known in historiography as the rebellion of the seimeni [?] and foot soldiers, after the main strata of free peasant troops who made up the bulk of the rebel army.

It was against the background of these antifeudal uprisings and struggles that the Szekler disturbance and rebellion arose in 1505, 475 years ago. The RCP's nationalities policy includes cultivation of the progressive historical traditions of both the Romanian people and the national minorities. That is why we celebrate and honor this year the deeds of Horea, the hero of 1784, who was born 250 years ago, as well as the antifeudal struggle in the Szekler country at the beginning of the 16th century.

The disturbances and uprising of the Szeklers in 1505, like any historical event or action, had certain characteristics, and their correct interpretation in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism requires a historical review, a brief survey of the social-political and military structures that characterized the Szekler country in the feudal period.

It is well known that the Hungarian population of the Szeklers in this period had military means of defense by virtue of which they held a number of collective rights and freedoms that affected their social, political, military and legal organization, and particularly the right of all Szekler men bearing arms to organize periodic general assemblies. The assembly ratified decisions and laws on the major problems concerning the whole community, elected and changed the high officials and deputies of the community, imposed taxes, and also constituted the higher court whose decisions could be appealed only to the royal court. Since it functioned locally as a legislative and judicial organ, the general assembly's decisions were binding on all members of the community.

With feudalization and formation of the classes characteristic of feudal society (a process that already began in the Szekler population with military duties in the early feudal period), the assemblies themselves became the arena of powerful social and political tensions and of confrontations between antagonistic social strata. The wealthy Szekler leaders wanted to play a decisive part in adopting the decisions, which were meant, in their conception, to reflect their class interests. Therefore when the Szekler community began to oppose and raise arms against some harmful decisions, the wealthy Szekler leaders in alliance with the nobles and patricians of the cities made every effort to prevent these assemblies from being convened, realizing that they offered an opportunity and possibility of organized resistance on the part of the communa plebs siculorum.

But the promiscua or misera plebs siculorum, as the Latin documents of the time called them, or az szekelsegbeli nemesrendat keosseg (the downtrodden community in the Szekler country), as the community called itself, was not deceived. The Szekler commoners saw in the attempt to eliminate the institution of the general assemblies the main cause of the highhanded oppressions. Their opinion is plainly stated in the preamble to the decisions adopted in the general assembly of the Szeklers without distinction of degree from all the Szekler seats, held 475 years ago in Odorheiu-Secuiesc, the capital city of Odorhei Seat. In this important document witten in Latin it says, "We the inhabitants of the whole Szekler country and all of us of any degree from all the Szekler seats make it known to all those who should know that... in the transaction of our necessary business the rare (convening) of the assemblies" does great harm to the inhabitants.

The abuses and oppression to which the assembly's decisions of 1505 refer were presented by Szeklers back in 1492 in a petition to the king of Hungary, Vladislau II, describing the abuses committed by the voievod of Transylvania, Stefan Bathory. The rights and freedoms of the Szeklers were seriously threatened by the conditions of anarchy and feudal reaction at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. For example, the voievod forced Szekler commoners to work without pay like serfs on the fortress in Odorheiu-Secuiesc. If they refused to submit they were threatened or even beaten and kept under arrest, while their wives were brought into the fortress for weeks. Many Szeklers were reduced to serfdom by the abuses. And all this went on, the petition of 1492 said, while they were fighting bravely against the foreign enemies.

The Szeklers said in their petition, "We were present in the wars waged in Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria and Turkey. Our ancestors' blood was shed copiously and the waters in the streams were reddened with our blood. Whole heaps were raised of the bones of those who fell in our ranks." By virtue of the fact that they served with arms, the Szeklers in revolt demanded observance of their freedoms, because otherwise "We shall never remain under his (Stefan Bathory's) rule, even if we must all depart with our wives and children for foreign lands." Actually many Szeklers fled to Wallachia or Moldavia, where they settled in the Csango villages and were well received by the Romanian population.

The Szeklers assembled at Odorheiu-Secuiesc in 1505 to put an end to the abuses and to stop the forced enslavement. They elected reliable men from their ranks to make the right decision. They also decided that if any of those elected should judge falsely for reasons of his own, bribed with gifts, or serving interests foreign to the community, he would be expelled from the Szekler country forever and would forfeit his goods and property. It was also determined that the persons elected "for the right decision" should supervise the activity of the seat officials, that is the seat captains and the royal judges, compel them to carry out their decisions precisely, and if one of those elected should die, they should see that another was elected in his place.

The adopted decisions were made generally known and explained to all, while the elected judges took an oath before the whole assembly that they would observe them precisely. All those present at the assembly, leaders, knights and commoners, also swore to observe the decisions made in common. The supreme captain of the Szeklers, Janos Bogozi of Mugeni village, confirmed the document concerning this important assembly with his seal.

Despite the measures taken, the decisions of the assembly at Odorheiu-Secuiesc were not carried out. Therefore another assembly was held the next year, that is toward the end of 1506, at Lutita on the field where the Szeklers were accustomed to assemble. It found that the abuses and oppression had not ceased but on the contrary "all kinds of bad practices" had set in. The decisions of the preceding general assembly, at Odorheiu-Secuiesc, were confirmed and it was determined that the wealthy leaders, among the knights or officials, who violated the decisions made should be treated as traitors and "lose their office and honor" with no right to appeal to the seat of judgment, to hold office, or to live any longer in the Szekler country.

The atmosphere of the Szekler assemblies was charged and dominated by strong social contradictions, in which the dissatisfaction of the oppressed was very evident. What Stefan Brodarics wrote at the beginning of the 16th century that there were neither nobles nor serfs among the Szeklers and that "Like the Swiss they all enjoy the same rights," was a thing of the past. Actually the social inequalities became acute and the struggle for rights and freedoms against feudal exploitation and abuses became characteristic of Szekler society too. This is demonstrated not only by the Szekler uprisings in 1430 and 1465 but also by the serious disturbances at the start of the 16th century. The humanist chronicler Antal Verancsics noted that at the general assemblies the Szeklers "come armed, the leaders stand in a circle and the others stand all around, protesting with a great uproar and stubbornly refusing to agree if what is decided displeases them in any way. When something is decided against the will of them all, they are patient for the time being but nevertheless resent the person whose act or obstinacy has subjected them to an unaccustomed burden and in order to avenge it they all proceed in groups, break into his house and tear it down. And if any one happens to devise a new rule that overlooks their freedoms, they pursue him even with weapons and upon catching him in an assembly they kill him in front of everyone." The document drafted on the occasion of the assembly at Lutita also mentions such uprisings, confrontations and conflicts.

In the summer of 1506 the Szeklers refused to pay the so-called "ox tax," an obligation they owed the king that consisted of an ox surrendered by every Szekler family when the king was crowned and married and the royal prince was born. The humanist Nicolae Olahus, in his noted work entitled "Athila" written in 1537, provides us with the most complete report of this Szekler uprising. His account is particularly credible because he was informed by his father, who participated directly in the events. According to this account the Szeklers drove off the royal tax collectors and even killed them at some points, and they boldly resisted the branding of the oxen taken in the name of King Vladislau II. The Szeklers assembled in a camp near Tirgu-Mures and resisted Pal Tomori, who was sent by the king to collect the "oxen tax," with weapons. Tomori tried to subdue and silence the rebels with a force composed of 500 horsemen. According to Nicolae Olahus the Szeklers showed no signs of surrendering but attacked Tomori, who was "checked by the stronger Szeklers." Many of Tomori's troops were killed in this engagement. The whole royal army was dispersed by the rebels, and those who escaped from the battle "barely succeeded in reaching home," being pursued by the belligerent bands. Pal Tomori himself "received 20 wounds, if I remember correctly," Olahus writes.

The Szeklers' general uprising became very dangerous as popular discontent increased, when the miners in parts of Maramures also rebelled and the Romanian and Hungarian serfs became increasingly bold in the common opposition to growing feudal exploitation. Powerful armed forces were sent against them, and the garrisons of some strong

fortresses were mobilized and concentrated in the Szekler country to crush the movement. The Szeklers' opposition was checked by these drastic measures with which the feudal lords defended their privileges and their "right" to exploit the masses. But the victory of the exploiting social classes presaged the great storm that was to break out in 1514 under Gheorghe Doja's leadership, which was a true peasants' war on a European scale.

The disturbances in the Szekler country and the Szeklers' antifeudal rebellion in 1505 and 1506 are among the historical revolutionary traditions of the Romanian people and the national minorities in Romania. By continuing their fight for freedom and a better life, the Transylvanian peasants together with those throughout the country regardless of nationality actively contributed to the overthrow of the oppressive feudal system and later to the abolition of the chains of capitalism. Acting in close unity, the Romanian people and the national minorities under the Communist Party's leadership established on the soil of the common fatherland a new and prosperous order in keeping with the masses' most ardent aspirations to freedom and prosperity. Socialism is achieving all citizens' true and complete equality of rights, opening up broad horizons of advancement to all workers in Romania, Romanian, Hungarian, German and other nationalities. Under the RCP's leadership the entire people are redoubling their efforts to build the fully developed socialist society and to raise socialist Romania to new heights of progress and prosperity.

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HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE REVIEW IN ROMANIA HONORS TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 80 pp 46-47

[Article by Simion Buia: "Commemoration of Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen"]

[Text] The Hungarian-language journal IGAZ SZO, published in Tirgu-Mures by the Romanian Writers' Union, devotes a special number (No 9, 1980) of homage to the historic deeds and personality of the Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen, who was born 400 years ago. Alongside the commemorative articles appearing on this occasion in other Romanian publications, the comprehensive survey in IGAZ SZO presents Bethlen as wise ruler for whom "The people's first master is also their first servant." In the spirit of this motto he pursued throughout his reign (1613-1629) a realistic policy based on priority service of the state's interests at the expense of the personal ambitions of the nobility, resulting in a veritable "golden age" for the benefit and prestige of Transylvania.

The studies by Janos Szasz, Lajos Demeny and Klek Csetri as well as the contributions of other authors like Prof Dr Camil Muresan bring out Bethlen's qualities as a politician, diplomat and troop commander, qualities with which he succeeded in preserving and consolidating Transylvania's autonomy in those very critical times. Bethlen accepted the "protectorate" from the Ottoman Porte but made formal submission to the Turks conditional upon their noninterference in the internal affairs and self-government of the principality. Under protection of the alliance with the Ottoman power, kept at a distance and skillfully maneuvered with a renaissance diplomacy, Prince Bethlen, as Univ Prof Dr Camil Muresan also points out, succeeded in repelling the Habsburgs' attempts to extend their hegemony over Transylvania, which would have deprived that autonomous principality with its majority Romanian population of the free- necessary to conduct a constructive activity for the people's benefit. Bethlen ...ed to avoid any combination whereby his country would have lost its independence and fallen prey to a foreign power. He knew and suffered the bitter experience of Habsburg oppression and witnessed the plunder, oppression and terror to which the Transylvanians were subjected by the mercenaries under the famous imperial general Basta, which strengthened his conviction that his country's self-government had to be preserved by wars against the Habsburgs waged beyond the borders to secure peace within. His troops, based on the light cavalry specialising in harassing actions, won many victories and caused Vienna to give up its attempts to include Transylvania in its empire.

The studies included in the grouping to which we refer bring out Bethlen's effort to strengthen collaboration with the other two Romanian principalities, Moldavia and

Wallachia, and to coordinate the defensive actions against the Ottoman and Habsburg threats. As it has been well noted, the treaty concluded in 1619 with Gavrilas Movila, Prince of Wallachia, whereby the parties agreed to defend their interests together against the Ottoman Porte, as well as the agreement with Radu Mihnea, Prince of Moldavia, in 1617 for mutual aid in case of need, reflected the constant continuity in the three Romanian lands' policy which enabled them to successfully resist the many attacks over the centuries. As Lajos Demeny comments, "In Bethlen's time identity of interests was an important feature of the relations among Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia."

Gabriel Bethlen's attitude toward the Romanians in Transylvania (the majority population) is significant. Having a keen sense of reality, he realized the seriousness of the internal contradictions arising from the attempt to make Romanians secondary citizens legally, politically and culturally. To counteract these attempts in the fields of education and culture, he encouraged the plans to found a press for religious books translated into Romanian, exempted the Romanian Orthodox clergy from taxes and the burden of other feudal obligations, and had the merit to promote Romanians to important administrative posts, as Elek Csetri notes in his study.

While implementing a foreign policy demonstrating that even a small country can assert itself internationally as a partner of great powers, Bethlen also figured in history as a staunch supporter of development of manufacturing, mining and trade. For example, he monopolized and encouraged exports in order to invest the proceeds in organizing and strengthening the army and in developing defensive military constructions, but also in building institutions of education and culture. As Janos Szasz correctly notes, the Transylvanian prince spent lavishly to develop culture, making Alba Iulia "not only a political and power center but also a center radiating culture." Bethlen is known and esteemed as an enthusiastic founder of schools and libraries and of scholarships to send worthy youths to study abroad.

Prince Gabriel Bethlen's activity eventually met with a favorable response from the promoters of the Transylvanian School, Romanian cultural figures like Samuil Micu and Gheorghe Sincai, and leading Romanian historians like Nicolae Iorga. Appreciating his realistic policy of all-around development of Transylvania and preservation of its autonomy, as well as his emphasis upon closer ties among the three Romanian lands (Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania), the Romanian people still respect him as indicated by the present celebration of the 400th anniversary of his birth. The collection included in the pages of the journal IOAN SLAVICI also qualifies as a merited tribute to this progressive historical figure.

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ROMANIAN REVIEW OF BOOK BY ITALIAN CP OFFICIAL

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 80 pp 48-49

[Article by Ilie Ponta of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy]

[Text] Under the conditions of the accentuated economic, social, political and cultural disfunctions of capitalism and intensification of the struggle of the working class and other workers, the concern of the communist parties and of Marxist authors has risen to analyze the content of the current crisis of capitalist society as well as to study the possibilities for overcoming this society by implementing democratic and progressive changes in the direction of socialism. Included in this line is the book by Pietro Ingrao, member of the Direction of the Italian Communist Party and well-known Marxist researcher.*

The author feels that today we are seeing "the crisis of a certain restructuring of capitalist society, which saw its typical form in the United States in the 30's. It is a question of the crisis of a certain way of existence of capitalist society" (p 14). The crisis, which is of a universal nature, still has not received an adequate answer. As is mentioned in the work, Italy is recording the trend to solve the crisis by "corporatization of the country's political life, crumbling and fragmenting more and more the impetus coming from the masses according to the criterion of interest groups (p 20).

As we known, corporatism, as an economic and social-political doctrine, was promoted by the bourgeoisie particularly in the years following World War I, under the conditions of deepening contradictions of capitalism and the start of its general crisis. The promoters of corporatism proposed to eliminate the worker trade unions and to replace them with "professional corporations" which would promote "class harmony" between workers and patrons, to replace parliament through "national corporatist representation" called on to support the idea of placing the state above the classes. Today, through corporatism, the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie are seeking to crumble the workers' political and professional organizatio , to move their attention from general political goals to strictly economic claims, to satisfying predominantly the group interests.

A number of political scientists assert that this trend would be a disadvantage only for communists. Really, as P. Ingrao points out, the process of corporativation will equally harm the Christian Democratic Party, the government party and the Italian Catholic world, since it will affect their ability to approach society's general problems.

* Pietro Ingrao, "Crisi a Terza Via" (Crisis and the Third Path). Interview with R. Ledda, Rome, Riuniti Publishers, 1978. References to the work will be given in the text.

What is more, if the democratic forces do not oppose this dangerous situation, the conditions are created to assert an "anti-democratic trend which proposes to deny the very principle of political consensus." In this connection, the author stresses that a phenomenon currently is taking place whereby some "anti-democratic seeds" are being spread among certain extremist strata of the youth, groups of intellectuals, in the small bourgeoisie and even in restricted nuclei of workers, social groups demonstrating a weakening of interest in political activity, particularly in the participational institutions of democracy. Also observed is the concern of the so-called "new political forces" with strengthening their own positions in order to later strike society in its weak spots. The most conclusive example is the intensification of the activity of various terrorist groupings which place a great emphasis on their organizational and military strengthening in order to obtain maximum effects when they decide to strike at certain of society's weaker links.

P. Ingrao feels that the crisis of Italian capitalist society at the political level mainly is manifested through the emphasis on the disfunctioning of the state. He stresses that the prospects are being formed for a total blockage of the mechanisms through which the state tends to control and govern the masses' lives" (P 15). The crisis of the bourgeois state, of course, is not a simple "defect" and capitalist society has changed a lot since World War II, while the state no longer can cope with its tasks, caused by these changes, with the stress on all the contradictions of the system based on exploitation and oppression and with the deepening world crisis of the capitalist system. The greatest part of the aspects of social life are seeing a process of socialization, while the state is not succeeding in giving an adequate answer to the problems resulting from this, since it stimulates the forms of organization and action based on the principle of individualism.

The author points out that the communist parties and the Marxist authors have the duty to intensify their theoretical and political efforts in order better to shape the attitude of the worker movement toward the crisis of the bourgeois state. This move is necessary for at least two reasons. First, it is unanimously recognized in the Italian worker movement that the capitalist state in Italy cannot be reduced to the sum of negative phenomena caused by the crisis since it also is characterized by some positive features imprinted on it by the struggle of the worker and popular movement. For that reason, the state of decay this state is in, as P. Ingrao writes, may be an occasion for its renewal and strengthening. In the end, its move in an authoritarian or democratic direction and its defense before the dangers presented by the crisis depend on the evolution of the relationship of forces between the classes, mainly between the worker class and the bourgeoisie. Second, the crisis of the bourgeois state is a real danger for society when there is a lack of progressive social and political forces determined to struggle to overcome the crisis by democratic means and to carry out progressive and innovative changes.

The work shows that a number of new social groups, not only the marginalized ones, have adopted in recent years an antistate attitude, feeling that today the state no longer is appropriate for providing for the exercising of a number of freedoms. This problem, however, cannot be solved by political passiveness but only by participation and struggle for transformation of the state, the author asserts. In this regard, among other things, Pietro Ingrao proposes to raise the role of parliament as an "important place and point in political synthesis," without which it is impossible to have the normal flow of political life. Proceeding from the finding that parliament and the other elective meetings have shown certain positive features,

the author writes: "I believe that the existence of a system of elective meetings, with the features which they have in Italy, not only has offered a favorable political framework for the worker and popular struggles but also has directed the masses toward a certain orientation with regard to the state: The procedural change in the state is sought, thus creating new opportunities for the meeting and alliance between the working class and other categories of workers" (p 70).

It is known that in recent years the Italian Communist Party has increased its efforts with a view to improving the strategy and tactics of its struggle for socialism, rejecting schemes and dogmas inherited from the past and working out strategic and tactical options which are proper for the new social, economic and political conditions. During the discussions which have taken place about these problems, there also has been talk of the possibility of a "third path toward socialism." In this connection, P. Ingrao points out that the term "third path" is only a metaphor indicating a political necessity. Giving the variety of paths for the transition to socialism, probably there also will be talk of a "fourth path" and a "fifth path" toward socialism. The experience of our century has shown that the transition toward a new society--a problem which was not exhaustively approached by the classics of the theory of scientific socialism--embraces an entire era and in no way can be reduced to a single model. It is a question of a process which entails rifts but particularly complex and contradictory situations also appear.

P. Ingrao stresses that the discussion about a "third path" lacks sense if it does not mean an analysis of current social reality, particularly crisis, and if it does not indicate the forces capable of overcoming it. This task does not belong only to the communists but to all forces of the left. Enrico Berlinguer, Italian Communist Party secretary general, pointed out at the 15th party congress: "A 'third path' we must admit, is a rather approximative picture but one which we have accepted in recent years because it has taken on a mass nature and one of scope. However, it requires explanations. The paths toward socialism, if they are not infinite, certainly are many and more and more numerous. We do not claim to indicate another model which would lack the value of the others."

The forces of the left must collaborate and unite their efforts in the difficult historic operation demanded by overcoming the crisis of capitalist society. In this regard, P. Ingrao feels that the Italian Communist Party has the merit of having overcome a negativist attitude toward social democratic experiences, with the Italian communists having analyzed these experiences carefully. Thus, the work points out that "the social democratic achievements in Europe we have seen and felt to be a reflex and answer to the advance of the masses and forward move of the situation" (p 121). European social democracy has had a number of merits in establishing the "social aid" state but today it must be recognized that this state has entered into a crisis. The communists, P. Ingrao writes, agree to analyze the history of the Italian worker movement together with the socialists but they cannot accept the hypotheses proposed by the socialists since what is important is for the analysis to be oriented toward "seeking solutions to overcome the crisis, not to elude basic historical problems but to close accounts on a true and concrete ground" of current social reality (p 130).

P. Ingrao pleads for the idea of coordinating the initiatives of West Europe's communists at the European level. As the work shows, this does not mean that eurocommunism would be a bloc of communist parties united through organizational features and identity of programs. Nor can it be reduced to a diplomatic action or isolated

development of various experiences. The communists are concerned with relating critically to other experiences and desire a critical analysis of their experience.

Recently there is much talk in western social political literature of a so-called "crisis of Marxism." Pointing out that, although they have not advanced this hypothesis, the Italian Marxists feel it necessary to relate to it, Pietro Ingrao emphasizes that to speak of a "crisis of Marxism" means that we refer to obsolete, dogmatic orientations which no longer correspond to the current stage of development of society and all the more since they cannot offer a prospect for the development of society. One also may speak of the "crisis of Marxism" when we have in mind a certain type of Leninism, the author feels, knowing that during a certain period Lenin was interpreted and understood exclusively through the prism of Stalin's concept of Marxism. But in the steps proposed by the dedogmatization of this Leninism, we must not forget that Lenin represented "the first and one of the most important theoretical rifts with the economicistinterpretation of Marxism and class struggle" (p 175).

The work points out that a self-critical analysis of the difficulties which Marxism is encountering is needed and this must be confronted boldly with the new realities and the latest achievements of science, since the danger does not exist of a loss or "weakening of theoretical autonomyand class struggle" (p 185). The working class, the communist parties and Marxist theoreticians must not avoid the difficulties which socialism is seeing; on the contrary, it is necessary to approach them courageously, with optimism, with wisdom in order to indicate the possibilities for raising the bids which they contain and to make the new society develop even more rapidly and see new steps of affirmation and maturity.

The work we have been concerned with has the merit of approaching the current and important problems given attention by the Italian and international worker movement. On the basis of the concrete analysis of the situation in Italy and in other western societies, the author formulates theoretical and political conclusions which can serve the effort of knowledge as well as the political activity of the working class which, in alliance with the other categories of workers, proposes to solve the crisis of capitalism thouugh overcoming this society and building a new society based on the principles of equality and justice and of multilateral assertion of the human personality.

8071
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PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PARTY, STATE ORGANS

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jan 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ana Muresan; candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, chairman of the National Council of Women: "Women, an Active Presence in the Life of Contemporary Romanian Society"]

[Excerpts] At present, the percentage of women in the ranks of industrial workers is almost 40 percent and in some branches--the food industry (50 percent) and light industry (70 percent)--it is above this level, which is an eloquent statistic even if we do not compare it with the years at the beginning of industrialization when women made up only 6 percent of the productive industrial personnel. At present, women are playing an increasingly more important role in other fields such as scientific research and design where they make up more than 42 percent of the workers, education, culture and art, where they make up 64 percent, or health care where they represent almost 73 percent! Also in the area of trade and services they make up 55 percent. The recently concluded 5-year plan is significant in regard to assuring the right to work to women. More than one-half of the newly created jobs are held by women. We can assert, on the basis of this experience, that women will constitute an important and active detachment in the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan which will move Romania to a higher economic level. The role of women in social and political life has developed on this basis, the basis of material guarantees and juridical regulations.

In the summer of 1973, a plenum of the RCP Central Committee analyzed the condition of women in contemporary Romania, taking stock and giving impetus to a political development which is now situated on its natural coordinates. Thus, about one-half of the 2.5 million members of the socialist democracy and unity organizations are women and the same proportion is found in the leadership organs of these organizations. At present, after the elections about 38 percent of the total number of deputies in the local organs are women and in the Grand National Assembly, they represent one third of the deputies elected. In the government of the country there are four women ministers, eight deputy ministers and women who are state secretaries and directors general in the ministries and ambassadors. The number of women holding positions of leadership in the industrial centrals has increased considerably; more than 2,100 are directors of enterprises and about 400 are chairmen of agricultural production cooperatives.

The number of women in the party has increased considerably. This is an especially significant aspect which reflects the consistent policy of the party and the profound democracy of political and social life in our country. Thus, 25 percent of the members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission are women and there are 5 women members of the Political Executive Committee and an additional 4 women are candidate members. In each county, two secretaries of the county party committee are women, one of them being a secretary for social problems, which is natural. In general, women represent 32 percent of the total number of the elected members of the party organs, at different levels.

CSO: 2700

OVERALL VIEW OF YUGOSLAV ARMED FORCES

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian Vol 36, No 49, 28 Nov 80 pp 44-45

[Article by Nikolaj Marcesku: "Defense School: The Yugoslav Armed Forces--Bulwark of Our Defense"]

[Text] The armed forces are armed military formations of working people and citizens and of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the SFRY. By their nature and purpose they constitute a specific form of the armed populace. Their social character and role are determined by our social relations, which are those of self-management. They constitute an expression of the resoluteness, readiness and military organization of the working people and citizens and of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities to oppose any armed aggression.

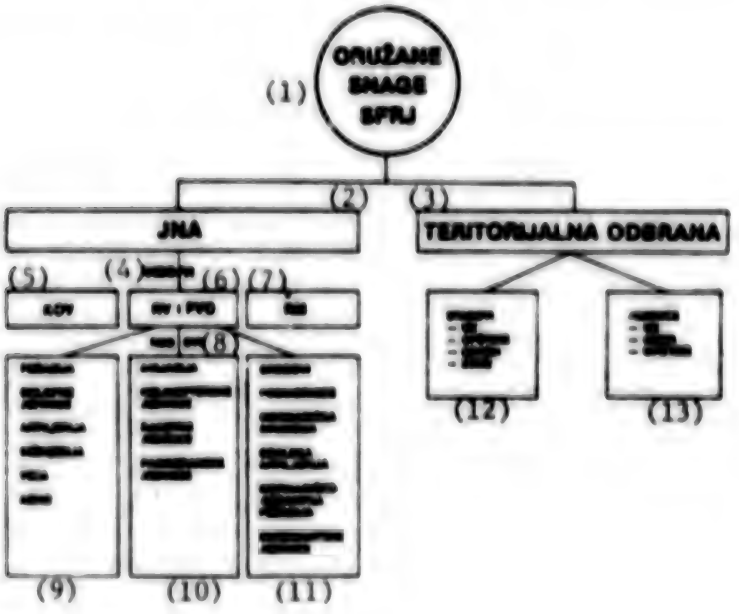
The basic purpose of the armed forces is to wage armed combat. They are the principal vehicle for waging armed combat, which they are able to do thanks to their preparedness, their organization and their equipment. In peacetime our armed forces guarantee the inviolability of our borders and the sovereignty and integrity of our socialist self-managed community.

By their existence and thanks to their high level of combat readiness the armed forces constitute an important factor in deterring any aggressor from attempting aggression against our country. In a case of aggression they provide the time and conditions for all structures of society to make the transition from a peacetime to a wartime footing. In close cooperation with the other factors in our social community, in wartime the armed forces wage armed and lengthy combat until ultimate victory over the aggressor.

The armed forces have an important role in the moral and political instruction and professional military training of the population, in preparing sites for the conduct of armed combat and in offering professional assistance to other entities in society.

It follows that our armed forces are consistently forces of the people and safeguard the basic interests of the working class and of the working people, and perform their role in peacetime and in nationwide defensive warfare together with all the structures of society.

As an organized armed force of the working class and of the working people, our armed forces are given the tasks set forth in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the constitutions of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces, which can be reduced to the following: protection of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; protection of the social system of the SFRY set forth in the constitution, and performance of tasks which arise out of our country's international obligations in defending peace and security in the world.



Key:
1. Yugoslav Armed Forces
2. YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]
3. Territorial Defense [TO]
4. Branches
5. Ground forces
6. Air force and antiair defense
7. Navy
8. Arms
9. Infantry; armored units; artillery; engineers; communications; ABC [atomic, biological, chemical] defense
10. Air force; helicopter units; missile units; paratroop units
11. Ships; submarines; navy air force; coast artillery; marines; commando units
12. Staffs: local community; opstina; city; zone
13. Units: local community; OOUR [basic organization of associated labor]; opstina

Our armed forces are a unified whole, and they consist of the YPA and TO. The unity of our armed forces is based on their common social and class base, a common goal, their identical conception, doctrine and strategy, and material support.

"... Our armed forces, the Yugoslav People's Army and territorial defense, are the two principal forms of organization of the working people and of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia for armed combat. These are specific forms in which Marx' idea of the armed populace has been applied at the present level of development of our socialist society and within the framework of existing international relations. In these forms the well-known principle that every citizen is to be a soldier and every soldier a citizen has been given real meaning and content," Comrade Tito has said.

These views of our commander in chief concerning our conception and organization for defense and self-protection have lasting value. They express the creative application and true purport of the idea of the classics of Marxism--that every citizen is to be a soldier by function, but not by profession. And as General Viktor Bubanj has put it: "The aspiration is that the entire people and the entire society become the armed forces."

In order to achieve that the LCY, as the vanguard of the working class and the political-ideological force of our self-managed socialist society, will continue in future to strive for the development of the unified armed forces as the most important component of the armed populace.

The Yugoslav People's Army

The YPA is the joint armed force of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities and of the working people and citizens. By its character it is an army of the people, a socialist army. In its organization and in the up-to-date military equipment with which it is supplied it is the strike component of our armed forces. It is intended for waging combat against the aggressor's main forces throughout the entire theater in any type of aggression.

The LCY indeed defined its role in those terms at its 11th congress, where it emphasized: "The Yugoslav People's Army should always be the strike force for defense of society, a force capable of anticipating a surprise aggression, of successfully opposing the aggressor's first strike, thereby facilitating our own mobilization and the activation of all society's defense potential, and of waging successful combat together with territorial defense and all participants in nationwide defense."

In peacetime and in a period of immediate threat of war the YPA undertakes all types of preparations for waging armed combat and builds and maintains a high degree of combat readiness. It is also involved in rendering professional and other assistance to other entities in society, it carries out its own mobilization, and it protects the achievement of mobilization by other components of the armed forces and other structures of society.

In case of aggression the YPA, together with territorial defense, receives the initial blow of the aggressor's main forces and prevents their rapid

penetration into the depth of our territory and the achievement of significant success. It is the principal vehicle for waging combat against airborne and amphibious landings of strategic and operational importance. Together with territorial defense, the YPA continues to combat the aggressor's main forces, inflicts as large losses on him as possible, and gradually creates conditions for taking the strategic initiative in order to shatter the aggressor's forces and drive him from the country.

The preparation and organization of the YPA lies in the jurisdiction of the Federation. In terms of organization, it consists of the following: branches, arms and services. The branches of the YPA consist of the arms and services. The arms are divided into types and specialties, and the services into departments and specialties.

Territorial Defense

Territorial defense is a component of the armed forces and the broadest form of organization of armed nationwide resistance. It is intended for carrying out diverse combat actions on temporarily occupied territory, within the frontal area and in our own rear either together with the YPA or on its own. These actions of territorial defense are aimed at uninterrupted monitoring and at the protection and security of the population, property and other social structures from all forms of the aggressor's activity.

The massive, lasting and uninterrupted conduct of armed combat and resistance during a war is ensured by organizing TO over the entire territory. In this manner the greatest losses are inflicted on the aggressor, maneuvers and regular supply are frustrated, his forces are extended, and he is prevented from establishing any system of occupation or Quisling government.

In peacetime TO has an extremely large role in preparing and training the population to wage armed combat. Territorial defense can be activated very quickly and used to carry out various tasks of social self-protection in cases of natural disasters as well.

In wartime TO grows to become an armed force numbering in the millions. Because of its actions on temporarily captured territory it constitutes a point of support for all other forms of resistance. TO units carry out combat actions in the frontal area in cooperation with YPA units. In our own rear TO is the principal vehicle for organizing and waging combat against tactical airborne landings and all infiltrated or other components of the aggressor.

Referring to this role of territorial defense and to the end of developing it further, the resolution of the 11th congress stated: "In its development territorial defense should grow more and more to become the broadest form of armed organization of the populace for armed combat and for armed

protection and for various forms of resisting a threat to the country's security and its constitutional order. Territorial defense should be organized in such a way that it is capable in terms of its form and its method of combat of acting under specific conditions as a factor of social self-protection. Emphasis in development of territorial defense in the coming period should be on organizing it in basic organizations of associated labor, local communities and opstinas, so that in line with its capabilities, the conditions and our traditions it meets the needs of their defense and self-protection in peacetime and wartime."

In the initial period of a war territorial defense units, together with YPA units, conduct defensive operations right from the border, wage combat and destroy the aggressor's infiltrated, commando and other forces. Independently or together with YPA units they wage combat against landings in the depth of our territory and on the islands.

Depending on the depth of the aggressor's penetration into our territory, TO develops large-scale and uninterrupted combat actions of ever greater proportions against the aggressor's forces. Once we have undertaken a counteroffensive, TO units, together with YPA units operating from the front, conduct strong strikes in the rear and against the flanks of the aggressor's main forces.

Territorial defense is being organized and prepared as a unified system of military organization in accordance with plans for the use and development of the armed forces and the real capabilities of sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor. Territorial defense consists of the following: staffs, units and institutions. The organization and table of organization of units and staffs vary greatly depending on military-political assessments, operational needs, the specific conditions of the region and the tasks of territorial defense units.

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GATHERING OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS VIEWS DIVISIVE FACTORS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1562, 7 Dec 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Why We Have Been Divided"]

[Text] In one of its coming issues SAVREMENOST [OUR TIMES], the journal of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, will be publishing a major portion of the discussion carried on these past several days from the rostrum of the Political Science Association in Novi Sad on the topic "The Political Culture of Socialist Self-Management."

Political culture, which Dr Jovan Djordjevic, dean of Yugoslav political science (who presented the principal address at this gathering), defines as a "complex encompassing theories, doctrines, practice, myths,..." is one of the categories in contemporary Yugoslav political science that is analyzed comparatively rarely.

Attack on Consciousness

The main line of the debate at this meeting in Novi Sad, put most briefly, came down to a search for answers to the question: Why are the elements of the political culture of self-management socialism developing slowly with us? But the discussion of political culture also proved to be a suitable framework for assessments of certain urgent political topics by distinguished Yugoslav political scientists from all over the country. The first and most frequent was the relation between general interests and particular, partial and individual interests, that is, enclosure within local "territories" which have sprung up like barriers of a sort to the processes of society's democratic integration.

Speaking on the same topic, Dr Najdan Pasic framed this question: "By our (institutional) parcelization of different interests, have we not divided up man himself and reduced him to a position of dependence upon those institutions which are supposed to serve him in realizing those interests of his? These factors do not fail to have an impact on man's consciousness. For example, the principle of regional allegiance has taken on dangerous

proportions with us," Pasic said. The possibility of a man's fulfilling a number of his vital needs depends on the region he belongs to. "Even the question of whether he will be able to enroll in the university or not depends on where a man was born and what opstina he comes from. This must exert a pressure on people's consciousness, it must parcelize that consciousness, and it is then something that comprises an element opposed to the humanism of the political culture of socialism.

"If we have a situation on the one hand where all these things have been institutionalized and divided up and where all of these things are settled through a conflict between those institutions, then on the other side, whether we like it or not, the need arises for a social and political force which will have a monopoly on expressing that general interest which in this situation has become submerged. Thus in practice the League of Communists, even against its will and commitment, is obliged to perform the role of exercising some kind of monopoly in interpreting the general public interest," Pasic said.

The Limits of Freedom

Nor is the "dialectics" of the general and the particular in Yugoslavia's political life a matter of dispute for Dr Adolf Bibic, a professor from Ljubljana. "But it seems to me that in practice we put more emphasis on the particular and do less to find the way of overcoming what separates us. We are now involved in the process of a transitional period typified by contradictions between the need for expression of all the wealth and the entire 'pluralism' of socialist society on the one hand, while on the other there is a need to achieve integration, democratic integration, as an integral part of self-management, something we have not yet attained.

"Pluralism is possible and will be possible provided we agree on certain essential values. Pluralism does not exist in every domain. I think that in developing pluralism we should do more to seek integration. After all," Bibic said, alluding to Hegel, "freedom does not mean that everyone does as he pleases."

Dr Dusan Bilandzic proposed that an analysis be made of all the constructive and adverse consequences of what is called determinism in the ideology of communist movements. In so doing he recalled an illustrative example--the thesis that "history is on our side, that we have come to understand certain laws by which society develops, and we therefore do not even need a democratic political life, since if we know the pathways of history, then we also have legitimacy to command society to develop as we have conceived history, in the name of the goals of society, voluntaristically and subjectively."

Firm Integration

Even if someone wanted to do so, it would not be possible in discussions of numerous Yugoslav political scientists to evade the topic of government intervention in a system which is supposed to be based on self-management. Of all the opinions expressed on this point, we single out that of Dr Aleksandar Fira. He is a professor of constitutional law and a member of the Federal Executive Council.

Fira feels that there are not only many differences in assessments of the extent and character of government interventions in Yugoslavia, but also a great deal of confusion. "A government which does not intervene is some kind of holy water which no one needs. There is no such government. I think that we cannot even put the question, nor answer the question, of whether there is or is not government intervention? The government exists in order to intervene--in a manner, of course, that depends on the character of the system. It is another matter if the interventions become the rule rather than an exception...."

Fira also joined those who sought an answer to the question: What divides us? "Doesn't one of the real causes of the unsatisfactory intensity of integration, perhaps even the most important one, lie in the fact that the earlier integration which we broke up was based on alienated political power as its sole foundation. That integration was so firm that the process of breaking it up had to be very radical. Isn't that why a consciousness has grown up which sees all integration a priori as a threat to independence and a threat even to identity?"

It would not be accurate if from these fragments of the discussion which we have selected one got the impression that political culture was the topic least mentioned in the Novi Sad discussions of political culture. So here are a few illustrations from the exposition of Dr Stojan Tomic, a political scientist from Sarajevo, who does adhere to the principal topic, but has his own way of relating to and clarifying certain other topics which were abundant in this discussion.

In referring to the political culture of self-management as an act of overthrowing, Tomic reminds one of Svetozar Markovic, who also spoke about an overthrow of "concepts and institutions," in his belief that "without an overthrow of concepts and institutions, there can be no self-management." This overthrow, Tomic said, began with that letter of Tito when he came to head the party in which he called upon party members to fight for new relations. "You first must be good comrades, and I don't want to hear about any party members who are not talking to one another," Tito wrote.

"It seems to me that this is the weakest point of the communist movement in the world. Imagine the situation in the world communist movement when not only individuals, but parties do not talk to one another for decades, or they talk like two hostile forces. Here is another confirmation of an old

rule of bourgeois sociology that there are situations when the members of one movement hate one another more than members of the class order they oppose. The communist movement is infected with an enmity that does not exist between the bourgeois and the proletarian. My purpose in saying this is not to extend this international situation to any particular localities. But we know, we hear, though nothing is written about it, that even we have party members who do not have any relations whatsoever, who do not speak to one another and who do not enter into conversation. Marx said that when people do not have relations with one another this is the lowest human state, a state equal to the animal state. It is better to have a relationship of adversity than no relationship at all," Tomic said.

What Culture Isn't

The discussions in which answers were sought to the question of what political culture is in a socialist self-management society, what sort of culture it is, how it develops and why it is developing slowly were so lengthy that SAVREMENOST will probably compile them into a special issue devoted to that topic. However, when the debate of the scholars was nearing an end, Natasa Markovic, reporter for VECERNJE NOVOSTI [EVENING NEWS], asked for the floor: she had been attending the meeting as a reporter and had attempted to draw up quite a long list of her own of what in her opinion wasn't culture and what wasn't civilized.

"It is not civilized," Natasa Markovic said among other things, "during your term of office to publish a crate of books in 3 years that carry your name, but were written by others;

"It is not civilized to call upon the working class to be remunerated according to the results of work, while at the same time you do not consent to have your own work or idleness measured in the same way;

"It is not civilized to say that the working class must master all income, and while you are uttering those words, you know that it is impossible to do this for at least the next 5 years, since in your decisions on investment projects and other decisions you have already determined where most of society's accumulation will go;

"It is not civilized to receive a good salary from the trade union, where it is your duty to defend the working class in a department concerned with housing policy and to be in a position where every third year you change apartments, perhaps because the old tiles or neighborhood no longer please you ...;

"It is not civilized to be put in a situation of competing for a job and of having to get some well-known individual to guarantee your value instead of your biography and the work you have done over the years, when that in fact will be worth more than all the work you have done and what you have accomplished...."

On behalf of the organizers Dr Milan Mali distanced himself "from certain tones which were heard near the end" and announced that in future similar discussions of the topic "Political Culture of a Self-Managed Socialist Society" could become a more frequent topic of the professional association of Yugoslav political scientists.

[Box, p 17] A Greek Ruler's Decision

"I think you know the story about the ruler in ancient Greece who decided to step down. When they asked him, 'Why are you withdrawing?' he answered: 'I have passed fine laws, but I constantly have the impression that I would be forced to break them. It therefore seems to me better for me to resign in advance, and then let my laws be violated by someone else.'"

This unusual anecdote was told by Dr Stojan Tomic. "I should not bore this group with Marx' well-known idea that only a class which is undergoing deformation breaks its own laws. The working class and the self-managers are not those who are breaking them, and accordingly the lawbreaker should be described appropriately.

"Kardelj said on several occasions that sometimes it is better to respect the law that exists, even though it has been a bit superseded by events, than, say, to issue an arbitrary interpretation to the effect that this is not in the interest of the Yugoslav proletriat, the world proletariat, or the proletariat of the republic or opstina," Dr Tomic observed.

Many participants in the Novi Sad gathering had something to say about the destiny of social norms. Dr Balsa Spadijer said: "Take the local communities for example: we are constantly changing their charters, their operating procedures...."

It is interesting that opinions on the differences that exist between the normative (the law) and the actual (life itself) in Yugoslav society do not coincide in all respects. Dr Inge Perko Separovic of Zagreb, for example, said: "I would not altogether agree that we have terrible discrepancies between the normative and empirical models. Our normative model does not define unambiguous rules of behavior. It incorporates the parallelism of a traditional system which ultimately wishes to preserve what exists and of another value system which wishes to make changes, which is revolutionary. It oscillates between these two possible models of behavior, and that is why there is no crisis in it. This actually gives it an additional flexibility," Dr Separovic said.

Dr Aleksandar Fira defended a similar opinion. "Conflict (between the normative and the real) is an inevitable part of reality. After all, absolute harmony is excluded by formal logic. Absolute harmony between the normative and the real presupposes a conflict-free situation in society, which is unthinkable," Fira said.

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BRIEFS

SENTENCED FOR NATIONALISM--On Tuesday the district court in Sarajevo, with Milorad Potparic presiding, sentenced the priest Nedjo Janjic (23) to 6 years in prison, the innkeeper Milomir Asonja (21), and the business man Momcilo Janjic (29) to 4 1/2 years each for the criminal act of inciting national and religious intolerance and hatred. They were accused of having initiated the singing of songs inciting national and religious hatred and division between Serbs, Croatians, and Moslems, in acting from Serbian chauvinist and pro-Chetnik positions, before about 30 persons at the home of Nedjo Janjic, Serbian Orthodox priest, in Borika near Rogatice on 28 September 1980 on the occasion of the christening of Janjic's son. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 80, 1, 2 Jan 81 p 24]

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